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Predecessors of Kautilya

BY

DR. B. H. KAPADIA, M.A., Ph.D.

In the history of India the word Magadha or Māgadha is extremely famous. Right up from the Vedas down to the Purāṇas there is ample discussion about the Magadhavamśa or the region of Magadha. From the Purāṇas, it is known that even prior to the battle of the Mahābhārata, the kingdom of the Bārhadrathas was established in the East or the king of Cedi, Bṛhadratha, the son of Uparicara, was the first to be decorated with the epithet of Magadhanareśa. His son Jarāsandha and his grandson Sahadeva were the contemporaries of the Mahābhārata battle. Twenty-three generations after him, Avantinareśa, Candrapradyota, ruled over it. After him the Vamśa of Śiśunāga was established. Then, the sequence was Śiśunāga, Kākavarṇa, Kṣetradharman, Chatrājit and Bimbisāra. This Bimbisāra, the most famous king, was a contemporary of Tīrthaṅkara Lord Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. Mahānandi was the last powerful king of Magadha. Through a Śudrā woman he had a son named Nanda. He established the lineage of the Nandas in the kingdom of Magadha. Mahāpadmananda was a great king of this lineage. He died at the age of 88. After 22 years, royal prosperity passed into the hands of the Mauryas. Candragupta was the first powerful king. With the help of a Brahman boy, Viṣṇugupta, he uprooted the Nandas, defeated the Yavana king Sikandara, and established a very powerful kingdom in B.C. 321. From the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the "Indica" of Megasthanes we know that Candragupta was the most powerful king.

As is usual in India, everything takes its origin from Brahmā. The śāstra on the triad of Dharma, Artha and Kāma in the beginining was one. From the Śāntiparva of the M.Bh. it is known that Brahmā was the writer of these three Śāstras (Santi. 58.89.90). Lord Śaṅkara later on abridged this work. It was known as

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Vaiśālākṣa. The treatises on Dharma, Artha and Kāma were composed on the basis of this Vaiśālākṣa.

Thousand-eyed Indra wrote a treatise on Arthaśāstra named as Bāhudaṅtaka. As stated in the M.Bh. Indra obtained from Śiva a treatise known as Vaiśālākṣa of 10,000 Adhyāyas. Indra abridged this in 5,000 Adhyāyas. Indra was the son of Bāhudanti and hence the work was known as Bāhudaṅtaka. Indra is considered to be the composer of many treatises.

From the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana (1.17) we come to know that Bṛhaspati wrote a work on Arthaśāstra. Bṛhaspati was the Purohita of the gods (Ait. Br. 8.26). Mahābhārata calls him the teacher of the gods and the writer of Arthaśāstra. It states that he was prior to the sovereign king Maruta (M.Bh. 57.6). Kātantra (1.4)) calls him the teacher of Grammar. He got the knowledge of grammar from Brahmā. This is corroborated by Mahābhāṣya. The treatise, known as Bāhudantaka composed by Indra, was further abridged by him in 3,000 Adhyāyas. In this, there was the priority of Arthaśāstra. There are innumerable quotations from Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra in works like the M.Bh., Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, in Bālakrīdā, a commentary on Yājnavalkyasmṛti, and in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. From Bārhaspatya it is known that Bṛhaspati taught Arthaśāstra to Indra. The Bṛhaspatisūtra how available appears to have been composed by some one else. Bṛhaspati is considered as the narrator of Itihāsa and Purāṇa (Vāyu Pu. 103. 59) and the author of Agadatantra, a treatise on medicine.

Maharṣi Angirā was well-versed in Arthaśāstra. His proficiency in this sphere is known from two verses from the M.Bh. Uśanā Kavi was a composer and the knower of Arthaśāstra. In Caraka-samhitā (8.54) there is reference to Uśanāsa-arthaśāstra. In the Śānti-Parvan (56.40,42,118,10) political thoughts of Uśanā are quoted. Uśanā abridged the treatise of Bṛhaspati running into 3000 Adhyāyas which in its original form is not available but it appears that Śukranītisāra is its revised edition. The celebrated poet Kālidāsa in his Kumārasambhava (3.6) refers to the nīti of Uśanā. He was the Purohita of the Asuras (Jai. Br. 1.125, Tāṇḍ. Ma. Br. 7.5.20, Baud. Śr. S. 18.46). Matsyapurāṇa 252.3 refers to him as the teacher of Vāstuśāstra. In the same context, Matsyapurāṇa refers to Candraputra Buddha alias Rājaputra as the knower of all the

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śāstras. In the commentary of Nītivākyāmṛta, many verses Rājaputra pertaining to the domain of politics are quoted. Perhaps his treatise might have been couched in verses. In the Arthaśāstra of Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya many doctrines of Piśuna (Nārada) are quoted. His treatise might have been existing till the time of Kauṭilya. Looking from the quotations, it seems, that in this there might have been the preponderance of Bhedanīti. Till this day, Nārada is known to the general public as Bhedanītijna. In the Rāmāyaṇa there are many verses quoted from the Nāradīya Arthaśāstra (Ayodhyā Adhyāya 100). The same is the case with the Mahābhārata (Sabhā. Adh. 5). Mahāmahopadhyāya P. V. Kane does not agree with this statement of Dr. Bhandarkar that Piśuna is the other name of Nārada (History of Dharmaśāstra, p. 206).

From a careful study of the Arthaśāstra, it become known that many important treatises were in existence before Kauṭilya. 'It gives many opinions of Bhāradvāja (1.7; 1.15; 1.16; 5.6; 8.3. M.Bh. Śānti, (58.3) informs that Bhāradvāja composed a work on Rājaśāstra. From the citation in the work of Kauṭilya (12.1) it appears that in the sphere of Rājaśāstra and Arthaśāstra his knowledge was very profound. The Arthaśāstra of Bṛhaspati, the father of Bhāradvāja has been already referred to.

Mahābhāṣya (7.3.45) refers to a Bhāgurī. She is connected with a Lokāyataśāstra. This treatise appears to be a work on Arthaśāstra (Kāmasūtra 1.2.15; 1.2.28).

Ācārya Kaunapadanta is also a writer on Arthaśāstra. Bhīṣma is his other name given in Trikāṇḍakośa (2.8.12).

Uddhava was the other name of Vātavyādhi. As described in the M.Bh. (Sabhā. 14.63.64) Uddhava was one of the seven ministers of Vṛṣṇi Andhaka. Matsya Purana (46.23) refers to the versatility of Uddhava. Arthaśāstra also refers to him.

Dīrghacārāyaṇa is also one in this line. The tradition of the Cārāyanīyas is found in the Aṣṭādhāyī (4.1.99), Mahābhāṣya (1.1.37), and Kāśikāvṛtti (6.2.69). Probably, Cārāyaṇa, the Arthaśāstrakāra was of this tradition.

Arthaśāstra means the science which deals with the second of the three aims of the human life-Artha means that which is necessary in the life of an individual in society such as wealth property etc. Arthaśāstra refers to all those doctrines which refer

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to man's practical life, techniques, economics, administration and politics. Nīti, Nītisāra, Rājanīti, Rājasūtra, or Rājadharman and Daṇḍanīti are its synonyms.

There were innumerable works during and before the time of Kauṭilya that existed in India. Somehow or other they were lost. Kauṭilya's treatise is the best possible compendium of the works that were known by that time. In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya we get the gist of all the doctrines of his predecessors. In the Arthaśāstra, he makes a reference to 18 predecessors[1] on whose doctrines his treatise takes a firm stand. Kauṭilya alias Viṣṇugupta alias Cāṇakya means one and the same person. As the son of Caṇaka he is called Cāṇakya.

Before coming to the end of this article I would like to make a reference to writers after Kauṭilya. Ācarya Kāmandaka wrote in verse a work known as Nītisāra. It was a revised edition of Śukranītisāra of Śukra. In the Agni and the Matsya Purāṇas, we have discussions pertaining to this. They also refer to some authors of Arthaśāstra. Then, we have Bṛhaspatisūtra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas. Nītivākyāmṛta is another work composed in the Śutra style. Dhārānareśa Bhoja wrote Yuktikalpataru, Hemacandrācārya wrote Laghvarhanīti, and Caṇḍeśvara wrote Nītiratnākara and Nītiprakāśikā. Candraśekhara, Mitra Miśra and Nīlakaṇṭha wrote respecitvely Rājanītiratnākara, Vīramitrodaya and Rājanītimayūkha. The work of Candraśekhara refers to works on Arthaśāstra viz. Rājanītikalpataru of Lakṣmidhara and Rājanītikāmadhenu of some unknown author. This sketch gives a bird's eye view of the important works and authors in the domain of Arthaśāstra form the predecessors of Kauṭilya down to the 18th Cent. A.D.

1. Kātyāyana, Kiṅjalka, Kauṇapadanta, Ghoṭakamukha, Cārāyaṇa, Parāśara, Piśuna, Piśunaputra, Bāhudantiputra, Bhāradvāja, Vātavyādhi, Viśālākṣa, etc. Quotes Ācāryas for 50 times. Cites several schools like Mānavas, Uśanasa, Bārhaspatyas, etc. The M. Bh. mentions Manu, Śukra, Uśanas, and Indra found in the arthaśāstra, and Gaurasaras, Kāśyapa, Utathya, Vāmadeva, etc., not found here.

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The Date of Buddha-Nirvana

BY

DR. MADAN MOHAN SINGH

The date of the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* forms a significant landmark for all events in the history of India. A number of views have been propounded from time to time as regards the correct date of *Buddha-Nirvāṇa,* but now there are only two main theories: according to one, the Buddha attained *Nirvāṇa* in c. 544 B.C., while according to the other, this incident took place in c. 486 B.C.

A Ceylonese tradition gives the year 544 B.C.,[1] or 545[2] B.C., or 546 B.C.[3] as the *Nirvāṇa* year of the Buddha. The Buddhists in Ceylon, Burma and Siam have been regulating their calendars on the basis of the *Nirvāṇa* occuring in c. 543 B.C.[4] The Northern Buddhism gives the date 546 B.C.[5]

Dr. Jayaswal on the strength of the Puranic and Jaina tradition supported by the Buddhist maintained that the Buddha attained *Nirvāṇa* in c. 544 B.C. Dr. Jayaswal argues that the Purāṇas give a gap of 218 years between the *Nirvāṇa* occurring on the 8th regnal year of Ajātaśatru and the accession to the throne of Chandragupta. According to him the figure 218 has been put wrongly by the Chroniclers for the *Abhisheka* of Aśoka due to two reasons. Firstly, because they omitted the reign periods of Nandivardhana (40 years) and the last Nanda, and the fraction of years amounting to 53 years and odd months. Secondly, due to the coincidence of having the figure 53 for the period which elapsed between Chandragupta's *Abhisheka* and Aśoka $(24 + 25 + 4 = 53)$.

But the Buddhist literature has faithfully preserved the history of this period, and the tradition describing Aśoka as ascending

1. *Indian Antiquary,* 1908.
2. *J.D.L.* 1935, vol. XXVII.
3. *Oriental Magazine,* quoted by Weber in *Indian Antiquities,* 1858.
4. *Indian Antiquary,* 1908, p. 342.
5. Weber: *Hist. of Indian Literature,* p. 287.

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the throne 218 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha should not be doubted. Dr. H. C. Raychoudhary[6] and Dr. R. K. Mukherjee[7] suggest that *Piyadassi* was also the *viruda* of Chandragupta and not only of Aśoka, and hence it may be accepted that the Ceylonese Chronicles when they state that *Piyadassi* was crowned 218 years after *Nibbāna,* they speak of the consecration of Chandragupta and not of Aśoka. This would give the date 544 A.C. for *Buddha-Nirvāṇa.* But the *Dīpavaṁsa* makes no confusion between Chandragupta and Aśoka. It describes *Piyadassana* as a pious king,[8] and in the same continuation, it says, "This grandson of Chandragupta, the son of Biṁdusāra, whilst a mere prince, was sub-king of Ujjenī..."[9] *Piyadassi* or *Piyadassana* in the *Dīpavaṁsa* is the grandson of Chandragupta. *Piyādasi* or *Piyadassana* was a second name of Aśoka; where *Piyadassi* occurs, Aśoka is absent and where the latter appears, the former is absent.[10] Hence, it appears to be near the truth to regard that Aśoka was anointed king 218 years after the *Buddha-Nibbāṇa.* It is supported by the Tibetan and Central Asian Traditions also. The Tibetan records tell us that 234 years after the death of the Buddha, Liyul (Khotan) was founded by Kustan, son of Aśoka.[11] Again, it is said that 234 years after the death of the Buddha, there was a king of India called Dharmāśoka.[12] According to another tradition, Aśoka, the king of Aryavarta visited Khotan, in the year 250 after the death of the Buddha.[13] A large part of Central Asia appears to have formed part of the Mauryan empire;[14] and hence the tradition of his visit to Khotan and that of his sons's being the founder of the early dynasty of Khotan should not be regarded as historically incorrect. Yen-Tsung and Hui-Li, pupils of Huen-Tsang tell us that the eldest son of Aśoka was the first ancestor of the king of Khotan and lived at, Takshaśilā.[15]

6. *Indian Culture,* II, p. 56.
7. *The Age of Imperial Unity,* p. 38.
8. *Dīpavaṁsa,* VI.
9. *Dīpavaṁsa,* VI, 14-15.
10. Barua: *Ins. of Aśoka,* pp. 220-21. Bhandarkar: *Aśoka,* p. 6. (In the Maski M.R.E. Aśoka appears and not Piyadasi, similar is the case in Junagarha R. Ins. of Rudradāman)...
11. Rock-Hill: *Life of the Buddha,* p. 237.
12. *Ibid.,* p. 234.
13. V. A. Smith: *Aśoka,* p. 81.
14. *IHQ.* XIII; *Indian Culture,* p. 307.
15. *Indian Culture,* V. 307.

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Secondly, Dr. Jayaswal argues that according to the Jaina tradition Chandragupta ascended the throne 219 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. But the Jaina traditions seem to be confused. They tell us that the Nanda Dynasty occupied the throne of Pāṭaliputra fifty[16] or sixty[17] years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. If we accept that Chandragupta ascended the throne 219 years after Mahāvīra, this would give a reign period of 265 years for the Nandas, which is too much.

Thirdly, Dr. Jayaswal calculates the periods of the successive apostle-ships in *Vinaya* after the *Nirvāṇa*, and gives the figure 297 years as falling on the 27th year of Aśoka's *Abhisheka*.[18] But his calculation is defective. Upāli was the head of the *Vinaya* for 30 years,[19] but Dr. Jayaswal assigns for him 74 years which was the total of his *Upasampadā* period.[20] According to the correct calculation Chandragupta was crowned c. 165 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. The *Dīpavaṁsa* says that Upāli was the chief of *Vinaya* for 30 years, Dāsaka for 50 years, Sonaka for 44 years and Siggava for 55 years.[21] Siggava died on the 14th regnal year of Chandragupta;[22] hence it was the c. 41st year of his headship of the *Vinaya* that Chandragupta ascended the throne. This gives the total of 165 years $(30 + 50 + 44 + 41 = 165)$. According to this calculation the date of the Buddha's *Nibbāṇa* would fall in c. 480 B.C. which is not far from the date 486 B.C. furnished by another tradition.

The well-known Cantonese traditions of 489 A.D. taken to China by Saṅghabhadra gives the date 486 B.C. for the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha.[23] It is said that a record was kept to which a dot was added every year by the presiding priest after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, till 489 A.D. in Canton, when the date had reached the number 975, the last dot being added by Saṅghabhadra. In the opinion of Flesh this record preserved not only the correct number

16. *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, IV, 1748.
17. *Ibid.*, IV, 1750.
18. *JBORS*, 1915.
19. *Dīpavaṁsa*, IV. 34; V. 89.
20. *Dīpavaṁsa*, V. 95.
21. *Dīpavaṁsa*, V. 89, 96.
22. *Dīpavaṁsa*, V. 73.
23. Max Muller: *True date of Buddha's Death*, J.A. 1884.

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of years, but even the day of Buddhas' *Nirvāṇa*.[24] The authenticity of the dotted record may be doubted, because it was discovered at Canton. But the Buddhists, if they kept a record as the dotted one, were not likely to insert more dots, or to forget adding a dot every year. If this date is accepted, the *Mahāvaṁsa* would give the year *c.* 324 B.C. for the accession to the throne of Chandragupta, and the year *c.* 268 for Aśokas' coronation. The statement of the *Dīpavaṁsa* that *Piyadassana* was crowned 218 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha fits in well with this tradition.

Now, we have to see if this tradition gets support from other quarters. Mr. Gopal Aiyar[25] and Dr. H. C. Seth[26] maintain that a *Nirvāṇa* era was started, counting from the day the Buddha attained *Nirvāṇa*. It was this era which is mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka and which was accepted by the Southern Buddhist Chroniclers. Dr. Seth points out that *vyuthena* of the Aśokan inscription is derived from the Sanskrit *vyushṭah,* which according to Kauṭilya means regnal year.[27] Aśoka reigned for 37 years, and the minor inscriptions were issued during the closing years of his reign, hence, 268-37 = 231 + 256 = *c.* 487 B.C. would be the date of the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*.

If the year *c.* 544 B.C. is accepted as the date for the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa,* Aśoka's coronation would fall in the year *c.* 327 or 326 B.C. according to the reign period of individual kings mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicles. This date for Aśoka is hardly tenable, whose date on the basis of his inscriptions and other evidences would be later. The date of Chandragupta Maurya, the grandfather of Aśoka is fairly definite because of his contemporaneity with Alexander, who led a campaign against India in 327 B.C. Hence, Aśoka cannot be placed in B.C. 327. Under these circumstances it is safe to accept the year B.C. 486 or 487 as the date of the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* till positive and convincing evidence is brought to light.

24. *JRAS,* 1909, *The Day on which Buddha Died.*
25. *Indian Antiquary,* 1908.
26. *Indian Culture,* Vol. V.
27. *Artnaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, II. 6; *Indian Culture,* Vol. V.

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Mahatma Gandhi and Boycott of Foreign Cloth

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

The idea of *Swadeshi* is almost as old as the Congress, yet the entire conception underwent a big change when Gandhiji came forward to take charge of the national movement in India. He lifted the boycott movement to an elevated plane which it could not have reached in previous circumstances. What was merely a political and punitive action before the advent of Gandhiji was later turned by him into a dynamic process of social, moral and economic revolution. Indeed, Gandhiji interpreted the boycott of foreign cloth in terms of ethics and economics, when to others it was no more than a weapon to cripple the British trade in India.

In the pre-Gandhian period, Indian leaders were inspired more by the desire to starve the foreign exploiter than by an unalloyed zeal for national regeneration. The boycott of British cloth was first started in Bengal in 1905 as a form of protest against the partition of the Province. When the Bengal leaders realised that they had no protection against the despotic move of the Government, they in their extremity decided to start the *Swadeshi* movement by way of a patriotic offensive. Their object was two-fold—*firstly,* they wanted to demonstrate their strong resentment against the British policy, and *secondly,* they wished to bring their cherished sentiments to the notice of the people in England, so that the latter might in self-interest force the Government to change the policy of partition. Thus, the boycott movement was, to begin with, a political expedient, adopted for a concrete political purpose. It was prompted by the feeling that as the weakness of the English people is money, we must injure them there, if we want to attack them with any success.

The *Swadeshi* movment entered on a new phase when it was subsequently approved by the liberal leaders of the Congress as a means of securing the country's industrial progress. To such

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leaders as Gokhale, Malaviya or Rashbehari Ghose, the *Swadeshi* scheme consisted in the development of Indian industry strictly within the limits of the law. It was to imply no disloyalty to Britain. Mr. Gokhale in his Congress presidential address of 1905 put the moderate case very clearly. Firstly, he said, a weapon like boycott must be reserved only for extreme occasions. Secondly, he urged, there were great risks involved in its failure. Thirdly, according to him, boycott was not likely to be effective unless there was an extraordinary upheaval of popular sentiment. Fourthly, he warned that the movement was bound to rouse angry passions on either side, which no well-wisher of his country would like to provoke. Lastly, he pointed out that they very term "boycott", owing to its origin, had unsavoury associations, and that it conveyed to the mind before everything else a vindictive desire to harm another. "Such a desire on our part, as a normal feature of our relations with England", he maintained emphatically, "is of course out of the question."

To Gandhiji, however, the boycott of foreign cloth was a permanent thing not conceived as a punitive weapon, but as a moral action of lasting value for the advancement of the nation. *Swadeshi* was not the only birthright of the people, but was the condition of national uplift. Gandhiji made the question of boycott his own in a manner which is rightly regarded as unique in history. *Swadeshi* was to be founded not on hatred, but on love—love of the motherland, not hatred of the foreigner. Love of the country was to be enshrined in the positive economic rebirth of the country, and not to be confined to mere negative action or rejection and boycott. If the movement on its material side was necessarily constructive, it was intended by Gandhiji to be also an ennobling moral force conducive to self-uplift and self-purification.

If boycott was not to be an attitude of negation, or a doctrine of hate or despair, it needed a moral and even spiritual basis. *Swadeshi* to be of lasting value was not to be an aggressive assertion of one's right, but was to be an expression of a yearning for self-development, self-determination and self-realization. Foreign cloth was to be boycotted not because it was foreign, but because it hampered the nation's own self-fulfilment. In short, Gandhiji looked upon boycott not as a selfish or even commercial proposition of profit and loss, but as a technique of moral and social emancipation. *Swadeshi* was as much rejection as it was creation.

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Gandhiji was well aware of the bad odour about the word "boycott" which implied a hostile attitude. But, so far as he was concerned, he never intended the word to imply any such idea. In fact, to remove all associations of the sense of hatred, he replaced the boycott of British goods by that of all foreign—not merely British—cloth. And, this boycott was not merely economic right but a moral duty. It was as much a duty, he said, as boycott of foreign waters would be, if they were imported to substitute the waters of the Indian rivers. For him, boycott was a substitute for violent methods, for it was to be a symbol of complete non-violence. He wanted the Indian peasant who was being ruined by the Lancashire trade not merely to refuse to purchase the cheap and attractive foreign cloth, but also to utilise his spare hours in carding and spinning and weaving.

Khaddar was thus the positive aspect of the boycott programme Gandhiji urged with force that foreign cloth had forced partial idleness on the Indian peasant by depriving him of the additional occupation of spinning and weaving he had formerly practised. If the peasant was to survive, boycott was a necessity. Khaddar would not only save his money, but would enable everyone of us to render "social service of a first class order." It would restore the old living contact between the urban and rural classes. It would not only bring political consciousness to the masses, but would enable them to become self-reliant. Gandhiji also thought that that Khaddar would remove the greatest immoral temptation from the way of the British people, for he looked upon the Lancashire trade as *"immoral"* on account of the fact that it was created and sustained on the ruin and degradation of India's toiling masses. And as one immorality led to another, the many proved immoral acts of British were traceable, according to him, to the immoral cloth trade of Lancashire. If, therefore, this one serious temptation was totally obviated by the willing and patriotic effort of the Indian people, it was, as Gandhiji thought, bound to be beneficial to India, beneficial to Britain, and as Britain was a world power, beneficial even for humanity. It is wrong and immoral to supply poison or intoxicant. But, what is true of poison or intoxicant is true of foreign cloth also, if its use causes enforced unemployment and poverty. Idleness injures a man's soul just as much as intoxication does, for idleness is as immoral and sinful as the latter could be. In other words, Gandhiji regarded any economics as immoral and sinful which overlooks or violates moral values.

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Gandhiji would not like the boycott movement to end in sentimental excitement. He resolved to make it a part and parcel of his comprehensive constructive programme through the encouragement of hand-spinning and Khaddar. The Khaddar scheme was calculated not only to produce a political awakening of the first magnitude, but was also intended to make the poor peasants, whether men or women, conscious of their strength and make them effective partners in the fight for the country's freedom. To the critics, the Khaddar ideology seemed to be a vain return to the ancient or middle ages, but for Gandhiji it was a dire necessity of national existence. What he resented most was the cruel and immoral destruction of the one great cottage industry of spinning in India "that kept the wolf from the doors of thousands of homes."

Those who did not fully appreciate Gandhiji's passion for the spinning wheel did not care to understand the moral fervour which underlay and inspired it. In fact. he always believed that he had no other or nobler message for the nation than the spinning wheel. He regarded it as the surest means for the attainment of Swaraj, if it was at all possible through non-violence. Those who rediculed this were unaware of Gandhiji's faith in moral power developed through the boycott of foreign cloth. This moral power was in his eyes the compelling sanction behind the nation's demand for freedom. The spinning wheel was the symbol of this power, and, as such, it was more than a crude and antiquated machine. It symbolized the will of the nation to be free from foreign exploitation. It represented the resurgence of the *Swadeshi* spirit in all forms and directions. It stood for the awakening of a new psychology, and summed up new dignity and a new feeling of self-respect. Considered in this light, the boycott programme was a non-violent onslaught on the quadruple evil of the modern world, viz., imperialism, militarism, capitalism and industrialism. But, more than that, the spinning wheel ushered in an era of moral exaltation in mundane politics.

Gandhiji insisted that the boycott of foreign cloth ought not to frighten the British, unless they were determined to perpetuate the existing exploitation of one country by another. The sanction behind the movement was the goodwill of, and for all, which meant evil to none, not even to the Lancashire cloth industry, except in so far as it was founded on exploitation rather than goodwill. He wanted all distrust and suspicion which had their origin in fear and

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hatred to be removed and replaced by a sense of security born of faith in the progress of India. For Gandhiji, freedom had little or no meaning, unless it implied a free and friendly association for the mutual benefit of all. He had no hatred for the British as such, but he would fight them unto death any unholy attempt on their part to impose their goods which India herself could produce. His mission was not to eliminate the men who stood for exploitation but the forces that do so. His quarrel was in fact with the sin and not the sinner himself which every human being is more or less. This noble detachment of the mind was the distinguishing feature of Gandhiji's whole Satyagraha programme based on Truth and Non-violence.

All foreign goods, once Gandhiji observed, do not harm us. Some goods such as foreign books, he urged, Indians would always need for their intellectual or spiritual good. But, as regards cloth, there was not the smallest doubt that it was an unmixed curse which harmed us in every respect, for it both demoralised and ruined the people. So, he held that British ought to regulate her cotton exports with due regard to the welfare of India, and thereby recognize moral values as a vital factor to be considered in regulating world trade. His ambition was to see world commerce founded on ethical basis through India's non-violent endeavours, for he never could bring himself to believe that the tendency of human nature is always selfish and ignoble.

Picketing of shops dealing in foreign cloth was considred to be akin to violence by many, but to Gandhiji it was methodology of non-violence, based on gentle pursuation, and not on coercion or restraint on other people's liberty of action. He insisted that picketing was to be unaggressive, and that it was never to involve intimidation, hostile demonstration, obstruction or violence to the public. So, within the limits prescribed, picketing was meant to be peaceful and educative. The moral pressure of public opinion was to be healthy, elevating and helpful to the development of liberty as distinct from licence. Non-violent picketing was expected to rouse public opinion and produce an atmosphere which should become absolutely irresistible.

Thanks to Gandhiji's inspiration and resolute determination, the boycott of foreign cloth acquired a new meaning through the res-

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toration of the spinning wheel to its pristine glory and through the enterpise of the All-India Spinners' Association. And let India not forget that of the two most historic feats of Mahatma Gandhi, Satyagraha and Khaddar, even though it may not be easy to determine which of the two is the more momentous, the boycott of foreign cloth and the implementation of the Khaddar programme were at once the outward expression of the birth of a new ideology of self-development and of India's re-awakened sense of self-reliance.

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The Temples of Alumpur*

BY

DR. M. RAMA RAO

Alumpur is the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Mahboobnagar district in the Telangana part of Andhra Pradesh. The village is situated on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra, more or less opposite Kurnool. It is a celebrated centre of Śaiva pilgrimage and considered as one of the gateways of the Śrīśailam hill.

There is a big fort with two high stone walls and a moat on the bank of the river. Within this fort area are eight fine temples, all in the Early Cāḷukyan *Vēsara* style. They have to be assigned to the latter half of the seventh century A.D. at the latest on the basis of the inscriptions contained in them and their architectural style confirms this date. These temples constitute a veritable treasure house of architecture, sculpture and iconography and throw valuable light on the evolution of art and architecture in eastern Deccan during the post-Sātavāhana period.

All the temples face the east and are situated in two groups. To the north of the main entrance is one empty shrine and to the south are three temples named Padmabrahma, Arkabrahma and Garuḍabrahma. Almost in the centre is the Bālabrahma temple. To its north-east and outside the court yard is a group of four temples, named Viśvabrahma, Vīrabrahma, Arkabrahma and Kumārabrahma. Behind them is a large hall which is now converted into a museum housing some of the sculptures and icons found in the temple area.

The Mahādvāra

The *Mahādvāra* or main entrance to the temple area is situated in the west. There are two more entrances, one in the north-east

* I examined these temples in May, 1961.

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leading to the second group of temples and the museum and into the town and the other in the east with steps leading to the Tungabhadra.

The main entrance is in three sections. It consists of a base which is just like that of most south Indian *gōpura* entrances but does not have the superstructure. At a certain height on the outer or western side of the wall of this entrance is a row of rafter ends, a *kapōta* above it, decorated with *nāsikas* of the Draviḍian type either empty or containing a lotus or a dwarf. On the wall above this *kapōta* there is an empty *kōṣṭa* on either side of the entrance. The pilasters of the *kōṣṭas* contain the *kalaśa, taḍi, iḍaḷ* and *phalaka* as do pilasters of the Draviḍian type. The big *nāsika* above the *kapōta* of the *kōṣṭa* contains a human head, another Draviḍian feature.

The first section of the main entrance contains, on the sides, short pillars having the *Pūrṇaghaṭa* with lotus creeper at the base, the shaft cut into twelve flutes above it, lotus creeper design above it, a full lotus above it, a double lotus above, and the *Pūrṇaghaṭa* with lotus creeper at the top. The capital above is plain and has four square sections projecting into the four directions. The central slab on the inner or under side of the ceiling contains a life size sculpture of Viṣṇu standing before Śēṣa. The second and third sections and their pillars are similar. The ceiling of the second section contains the figure of Śiva-Naṭrāja while the ceiling slab in the third section contains the figure of Brahma.[1]

THE TEMPLES

Tārakabrahma Temple: As one passes out of the *Mahādvāra* he comes across a big area to the left or north. There are a few houses in this area inhabited by Muslims. Here stands a solitary

1. There are two interesting parallels to these ceiling sculptures in temples Nos. 7 and 9 at Aihole (Cousens—*Chalukyan Architecture*, pl. XVII and XXI). The Viṣṇu in temple No. 7 is seated on Ananta with two upper hands holding *śaṁkha* and *cakra*, the lower right hand stretched and resting on the knee and the lower left resting on the left knee. Śiva in temple No. 9 is not of the *Kēvala* type but is of a peculiar form of the Āliṅgana type. The hands of Brahma in temple No. 9 hold different objects and in temple No. 7 the deity is seated on the *haṁsa*.

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shrine, now empty, which is of great significance. Alumpur is said to contain nine temples all having their names ending in Brahma. Eight temples are found elsewhere in the temple area and they have separate names. Only the Tārakabrahma temple is not known and the local people identify that temple with this empty shrine.

This temple stands on a high *adhiṣṭāna* containing *upāna, paṭṭa,* broad *paṭṭa, gaḷa,* a moulding, *paṭṭa, gaḷa, paṭṭa* and *āliṅgapaṭṭikā.* Above this *adhiṣṭāna* are the *Garbhagṛha* and an open pillared *maṅṭapa* before it. The walls of the shrine contain one plain pilaster at each end and a *Śālā-Kōṣṭa* between them. This *kōṣṭa* is of the Draviḍian type and stands on two narrow pilasters. Its *śikhara* is decorated with a wide *nāsika.* The *Vimāna* above the walls consists of a row of animals at the base and two *talas* or storeys above, the first containing a *hāra* or row of *kūṭa, śāla* and *kūṭa* each with a *nāsika* in the centre and the second *tala* containing pilaster, *śālā* and pilaster. A *sukanāsikā* projects to the east from the base of the *vimāna* and inside it is the worn out figure of a deity seated in the centre accompanied by many attendants. The *śikhara* and the *Kaḷasa* of the *vimāna* have fallen.

The *maṅṭapa* in the front is open and contains simple plain pillars. The entrance to the *garbhagṛha* has on its lintel a seated female deity attended by a woman on each side. The jambs of the doorway have vertical rows of dwarfs playing various musical instruments. The vertical beams have a lion protruding. To the top right is a figure of Gaṇapati seated with his trunk curled as a garland. The *garbhagṛha* contains four pillars with plain square capitals, a feature observable in the other temples in this area belonging to the *Vēsara* Order.[2]

Padmabrahma Temple: To the right or south of the main entrance is another wide area containing a Muslim grave yard and three temples. The first temple of this group is the Padmabrahma temple.

This temple consists of *Garbhagṛha, Aṅtarāla, Maṅṭapa* and *Pradakṣiṇa* enclosed by four walls and a *vimāna* which has now fallen and disappeared completely.

2. It is strange that this temple alone is of the Draviḍian order while all the other temples in this locality are of the *Vēsara* order.

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The outer side of the southern and northern walls contains, in order, an empty *kōṣṭa*, another empty *kōṣṭa*, entrance, and five empty *kōṣṭas*. The walls in the east and west contain two empty *kōṣṭas*, an entrance and two empty *kōṣṭas*.

The *maṅṭapa* before the shrine in the interior has two rows of three pillars each on each side. They are all simple and undecorated. The southern wall of the *Garbhagṛha* and *Aṅtarāḷa* contains, in order, a row of five beam heads surmounted by a big *nāsika*, a projecting pavilion with the figure of Gaṇapati inside and another row of five beam heads surmounted by a *nāsika*. The wall on the north is similar. The western wall is also similar but the projecting pavilion contains the figure of Kumāra standing. The entrance in the east is plain and unadorned.

Svargabrahma Temple: This temple is to the east of the Padmabrahma. It consists of a *Garbhagṛha* with a *maṅṭapa* before it and a *Pradakṣiṇa* enclosed by four walls with a *maṅṭapa* in the east, and a fine *vimāna* of the *Vēsara* Order.[3]

The *maṅṭapa* in the front is plain and contains six pillars. The southern wall contains, in order, on the outer side—(a) a *kōṣṭa* with a pair of celestials flying on either side at the top and *Mithunas* on each side at the bottom. The *adhiṣṭāna* of the *kōṣṭa* has *upāna*, broad *paṭṭa*, two narrow *paṭṭas*, a row of six beam heads, *gaḷa*, a row of fourteen rafter ends, *kapōta* decorated with three *nāsikas* and *āliṅgapaṭṭikā*. Above is the *kōṣṭa* proper surmounted by a *nāsikā*. Inside it is the figure of Kubēra riding a man. (b) a projecting portico having two pillars in the front decorated with a *Pūrṇaghaṭa* at both base and top. (c) *Kōṣṭa* similar to (a) containing the figure of a deity riding the bull, (d) a perforated screen, (e) another *kōṣṭa* with the figure of Śiva standing inside it and (f)

3. The existing Vimānas of these Alampur temples are exactly like those of the Bhīmalingēśvara and Rāmalingēśvara temples of Satyavolu and the Mahānandīśvara temple of Mahānandi, both places situated in the Kurnool District. All these *Vimānas* again bear a close resemblance in style, size and appearance, to the Vimānas of the Vēsara temples of Aihole and Pattadakal. These temples in the Karnātake and Āndhra areas, both of which were under early Cāḷukyan rule for some time, must be studied together for a correct understanding of this style on the temples of the so-called Indo-Aryan style, particularly those belonging to the Mukhalingam and Bubanesvar groups, on the other.

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another *kōṣṭa*. The northern wall is similar and its projecting portico has a fine figure of Śiva-Naṭarāja badly mutilated. The wall in the west has, in order, a *kōṣṭa*, a projecting portico, and a *kōṣṭa* containing the figure of Viṣṇu. The portico contains the figure of Trivikrama, also mutilated. The wall in the east contains a *kōṣṭa* on either side of the *maṅṭapa*. The *kōṣṭa* in the southern part contains a fine figure of Naṭarāja mutilated. The *kōṣṭa* in the north contains the figure of Tripurāṅṭakamūrti, also mutilated. Next to it is a fine representation of Lingōdbhavamūrti.[4]

The outer side of the walls of the *Garbhagṛha* is decorated with the two *kōṣṭas* at either end with a projecting pavilion in the centre. The *adhiṣṭāna* of the pavilion is decorated with six beam heads containing a design. The pillars have the *Pūrṇaghaṭa* at the base and a *siṁhalalāṭa* at the top. The base of the jambs contains Nāgas. There are six beam heads at the top of the pavilion. The *kōṣṭa* in the west wall contains the figure of Kumāra standing with the peacock behind him.

The *maṅṭapa* before the *Garbhagṛha* has three pillars on each side and two in the front. In the centre of these pillars there is a fine rectangular medallion. Their capitals contain lions projecting to the sides and the front part contains a *siṁhalalāṭa*. There is a *Pūrṇaghaṭa* at the top of the pillar below the capital.

The entrance of the *Garbhagṛha* is guarded by *dvārapālas*, finely carved. The architrave above it has three tiers one above the other, the two lower ones containing *kūṭa*, *Śālā* and *Kūṭa* and the top tier containing *āmalaka*, *śālā* and *āmalaka*. The interior contains two rows of three pillars each on the sides and linga on *vēdi* in between them.

This temple is crowned by a *catustala-vimāna* of the *Vēsara* Order and the gable of its *sukanāsa* contains the figure of Naṭarāja.

Garuḍabrahma Temple: This temple is to the south-east of Svargabrahma temple. It consists of a *Garbhagṛha*, *Aṅtarāḷa*, *Maṅṭapa* and *Pradakṣiṇa* enclosed by four walls with an entrance

4. The decoration of the walls of this temple and that of Viśvabrahma, particularly, the *kōṣṭas* and the projecting pavilions, resembles the decoration of the walls of Pāpanātha temple of Pattadakal (Cousens—*Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. L).

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in the east behind a *maṅṭapa*. It is surmounted by a *catustala-vimāna* of the *Vēsara* Order.

The outer side of the walls in the south and north contains, in order, an empty *kōṣṭa*, another empty *kōṣṭa*, a projecting portico with false door inside it and five empty *kōṣṭas*. The walls in the east and west contain, in order, two empty *kōṣṭas*, an entrance and two empty *kōṣṭas*. There is a pillared *maṅṭapa* in the east between the two pairs of empty *kōṣṭas*.

The outer side of the walls of the *Garbhagṛha* and *Aṅtarāḷa* contain, or order, (a) an empty projection with the top of a *kōṣṭa* (b) a projecting pavilion having six beam heads below and eight square blocks above containing animal figures and (c) and (d) empty projections like (a).

The *maṅṭapa* in the front has two rows of three pillars on each side. These pillars have *pūrṇaghaṭa* at the base, a shaft of twelve flutes above it, a medallion with *siṁhalalāṭa* above, a *Pūrṇaghaṭa* above it and above all, the capital with *siṁhalalāṭa* in the centre and lotus brackets on the sides.

The lintel of the doorway of the *Aṅtarāḷa* has the figure of a flying celestial. The architrave above it is decorated with a *kūṭa* with *āmalaka-śikhara*, *pañjara* with its top resembling the top of the *kōṣṭa* on the outer side of the walls, a *śālā-kōṣṭa*, *pañjara* and *kūṭa*.

The *Vimāna* is of the *catustala* variety and its *sukanāsa* contains inside it the figure of Naṭarāja.

Bālabrahma Temple: This is the principal shrine of the entire group and regular worship is being conducted in it. This is also the biggest of all the temples. This temple consists of the *Garbhagṛha*, *Aṅtarāḷa* and *Maṅṭapa* enclosed by a *Pradakṣiṇa*. These are enclosed by another *Pradakṣiṇa* which is open.

The outer *Pradakṣiṇa* contains a low parapet on the north, west and south. The outer side of the parapet is cut into numerous narrow compartments by short pilasters. Above these compartments is a lotus design and above it a *kapōta* with *nāṣikas* at intervals. There are seven short pillars in the north and south and five in the west above this parapet with the same number of pillars in the interior on the other side of the parapet. This outer *pra-*

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dakṣiṇa is bound by the low parapet on one side and the outer side of the walls of the inner *pradakṣiṇa* on the other.

The outer side of the walls of the inner *pradakṣiṇa* are decorated. The walls on the north and south contain, in order, (a) a *kōṣṭa* containing the figure of a standing deity (b) an entrance (c) pillar (d) empty *kōṣṭa* (e) pillar (f) two perforated screens with a pillar between them (g) pillar (h) another screen (i) pillar (j) *kōṣṭa* containing a seated deity figure and (k) pillar. The northern and southern walls contain, in order, (a) *kōṣṭa* containing a seated deity figure (b) pillar, (c) a *kōṣṭa* containing a standing deity figure holding *cakra* in the right hand and *śaṁkha* in the left resting on *kaṭi* and (d) pillar.

The temple is surmounted by a *catustala-vimāna* of the *Vēsara* Order. The *sukanāsa* that projects from its base to the east contains inside it the figure of Naṭarāja.

The inner side of the east wall of the outer *pradakṣiṇa* contains fine sculptures and icons viz Mahiṣāsuramardanī, Āliṅganamūrti, Vīrabhadra, Jōgulāṁbā, Saptamatṛkas and Kumāra. Similarly, there are fine icons of Indra on Airāvaṭa Āliṅganamūrti, Gaṇapati, Sūrya and Kumāra in the front or east wall of the inner *Pradakṣiṇa.*

A *kōṣṭa* in the north wall of the *Garbhagṛha* contains a fine image of Durgā. Another *kōṣṭa* in the west wall houses Vriṣabhārūḍhamūrti. A *kōṣṭa* in the south wall contains a fine icon of Gaṇapati. Other icons to be found in the inner *Pradakṣiṇa* are those of Mahēśamūrti, Ardhanārī and Naṭarāja.

Various icons are to be found in the courtyard round this temple viz Vīṇādhara-Śiva, Mahiṣāsuramardanī and Naṭarāja. There are, besides, six rock cut miniature shrines with *Nāgara-śikharas.*

Visvabrahma Temple: This is one of a group of four temples situated to the north-east of the Bālabrahma temple and is in the extreme north. It too consists of a *Garbhagṛha, Aṅtarāḷa, Maṅṭapa,* a surrounding *Pradakṣiṇa,* all enclosed by four walls[5] with an entrance in the east.

5. These walls resemble those of the small shrine on the bund of a tank near the Mahākūṭēśvara temple of Aihole.

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The outer side of the wall in the east contains, in order, two empty *kōṣṭas,* the main entrance to the temple and two empty *kōṣṭas.* The wall in the west or back wall contains, in order, two empty *kōṣṭas,* a projecting pavilion with a fine Naṭarāja figure in it, now mutilated, and two empty *kōṣṭas.* The southern wall contains two empty *kōṣṭas,* a projecting pavilion with a doorway, four empty *kōṣṭas,* and a *kōṣṭa* with the figure of Śiva riding the bull inside it. The northern wall has a *kōṣṭa* with a seated deity, inside it, an empty *kōṣṭa,* a projecting pavilion with an entrance, an empty *kōṣṭa,* a *kōṣṭa* with a standing deity and three empty *kōṣṭas.*

The *adhiṣṭāna* of the *Garbhagṛha* contains *upāna,* broad *paṭṭa,* two narrow *paṭṭas, padma* moulding, two narrow *paṭṭas,* a row of seven rafter ends and *kapōta* surmounted by *nāsikas.* There is a projecting pavilion in the centre of the *adhiṣṭāna* containing above *upāna* and two *paṭṭas,* a row of six beam heads decorated with human heads and floral designs, two more *paṭṭas,* a row of twelve square blocks decorated with design, *kapōta* with four *nāsikas* and two *paṭṭas* above it. The pavilion part is also decorated. The lower beam contains floral design. The two verticals contain the *Pūrṇaghaṭa* at the base and top. There are six square beam heads above. The *kōṣṭa* is empty. The walls of the *Aṅtarāḷa* are similarly decorated. One of them contains the figure of Śiva-Caṅdraśēkhara. There are altogether five pavilions, four empty and one containing the above figure on the walls of the *Garbhagṛha* and *Aṅtarāḷa.* There are two kinds of pillars in the *maṅṭapa* and round it on both sides. One kind contains four lions at the base, a shaft of twelve flutes above it, a medallion with figures above, double lotus above it, an *āmalaka* and above it the capital containing a *siṁhalalāṭa* in the centre and projecting lotus scroll on the sides on each face. On the capitals of some pillars there are projecting lions and horses. Another variety contains the *Pūrṇaghaṭa* at the base, a shaft of twelve flutes above it, a hanging lotus scroll and the capital with lotus in the centre and overhanging lotus scroll at the sides. The architrave above the entrance of the *Garbhagṛha* contains what correspond to *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā, pañjara* and *kūṭa.* There is a flying celestial on the lintel and nāgas on the jambs. The *Garbhagṛha* contains a linga on *vēdi* between four pillars.

The *Vimāna* is of the *catustala* variety of the *Vēsara* Order. The *sukanāsikā* in its front is empty.

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Vīrabrahma Temple: This temple is to the south of the one described above. This is a plain and undecorated temple, containing the *Garbhagṛha, Aṅtarāḷa* and *Maṅṭapa* having four pillars on each side and two in the front. All these are enclosed by four walls and there is a surmounting *Vēsara Vimāna.*

The outer side of the front or eastern wall contains an empty *kōṣṭa,* the main entrance flanked by *dvārapālakas* and an empty *kōṣṭa.* The western wall contains an empty *kōṣṭa,* projecting pavilion with an entrance flanked by perforated screens and an empty *kōṣṭa.* The walls in the north and south contain an empty *kōṣṭa,* projecting pavilion with entrance, empty *kōṣṭa, kōṣṭa* with perforated screen and empty *kōṣṭa.*

The walls of the *Garbhagṛha* and *Aṅtarāḷa* contain, in the centre, one projecting *kōṣṭa* with six beam heads at the top. The entrance to the *Aṅtarāḷa* contains a lintel decorated with the figure of Āliṅganamūrti. The architrave above has, in order, five beam heads, a *nāsika* above them, a *kapōta* above crowned by *āmalaka,* a pavilion crowned by a *nasika* and five beam heads. The pillars in the *maṅṭapa* are plain and have simple bracket capitals.

The *śikhara* and *kaḷaśa* of the *Vimāna* have fallen and the *śukanāsika* contains the figure of Naṭarāja.

Arkabrahma Temple:—This temple which is to the further south has no roof and its interior seems to have been reconstructed. The main entrance in the outer wall is flanked by a worn out *dvārapālaka* on either side. The architrave above the entrance has *kūṭa* crowned by *āmalaka śikhara* at the extremities, *pañjara* crowned by *āmalaka śikhara* inside and a *śālā* similarly crowned in the centre. One remarkable feature is that the pillars in this temple are strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist pillars found in some of the caves at Nasik and numerous marble pillars from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. They contain semi-circular lotus medallions. The northern and southern walls of the temple contain, in order, an empty *kōṣṭa,* pavilion with perforated screens, empty *kōṣṭa,* window with a screen and empty *kōṣṭa.*

Kumārabrahma Temple: This temple is near the northern entrance to the main compound. It is of the same plan and construction as the other temples. Its walls contain a single project-

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ing pavilion in the centre flanked by perforated screens. It has a surmounting *Tritala Vimāna* of the *Vēsara* Order.

There are two types of pillars in this temple. One type contains, from bottom to top, the *Pūrṇaghaṭa,* octagonal shaft, lotus creeper design, octagonal shaft, *Pūrṇaghaṭa* and corbel with lotus design. The other type of pillar is decorated with the figure of Gajalakṣmī at the base, a semi-circular lotus medallion above it, a narrow shaft and a circular lotus medallion at the top. The ears of the bracket capitals are drooping. There is a small lion with rider projecting from the base. The architrave above the front row of *maṇṭapa* pillars contains a row of seven human heads.[6]

Pāpanāśanam Temples: About a mile up the river from Alumpur is another centre of pilgrimage known as Pāpanāśanam. Here is a group of over twenty shrines, big and small, of various forms and orders and seem to indicate numerous experiments made in temple construction.

Shrine 1. This shrine stands on an *adhiṣṭāna* which contains *upāna, gaḷa* and *tripaṭṭa.* The walls are bare. It has an apsidal or *gajapriṣṭa* back. The doorway in the front has a *dvārapālaka* on either side and a *nāginī* carrying a child. The frame of the doorway is decorated with lotus leaf design and the lintel contains the figure of Gajalakṣmī. The temple is crowned by an apsidal *śikhara.* The front part of this *śikhara* is damaged.

Shrine 2. This shrine is to the west of No. 1. It is empty but its *śikhara* is peculiar and seems to be the proto-type of the *āyatāsra śikhara* or *gōpura.*

Shrine 3. This shrine is similar.

Shrine 4. This shrine is to the west of No. 3. It consists of an open verandah of four pillars in the front and a closed hall behind it with an entrance.

Shrine 5. This small shrine has a *Garbhagṛha* containing a linga on *vēdi* inside and a *maṇṭapa* of three pillars on each side

6. This temple resembles the Huchchimalli guḍi of Aihole which also has a *tritala Vimāna* of the *Vesara* order. (Cousens—*Chalukyan Architecture,* Pl. XII).

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before it. It has a *Vimāna* of four steps, broad *phalaka*, narrow *gaḷa* and a round *kaḷaśa*.

Shrine 6. This is an empty shrine with a well carved doorway having *nāginī* figure on the jambs and a Gajalakṣmī lintel.

Shrine 7. This shrine has a *Garbhagṛha* and *Aṅtarāḷa*. Its *Vimāna* has five steps, *phalaka, gaḷa* and a round *śikhara*.

Shrine 8. This shrine has the *Garbhagṛha* and *Aṅtarāla* and a carved entrance with the Gajalakṣmī temple. There is a moon stone before the entrance.

Shrine 9. This little shrine with *Garbhagṛha* and *Aṅtarāḷa* is enclosed by two walls. Its *Vimāna* has seven steps, *phalaka, gaḷa* and a *Nāgara śikhara* of four faces.

Shrines 10 & 11. These are empty shrines with *Vimānas* of four steps.

Shrine 12. This shrine has a *Vimāna* of six steps, *gaḷa*, a round *Vēsara śikhara* and a stone *kaḷaśa*.

Shrine 13. The entrance of the *Garbhagṛha* is well carved and has a fine moon stone on the ground below. The architrave above is decorated with a *kapōta* or cornice adorned with four *nāsikas*, and a line of rafter ends above them. Above is another cornice containing a *śālā* surmounted by a *siṁhalalāṭa*. The entrance of the *Aṅtarāḷa* has a *dvarapāḷaka* on each side. There is a narrow *maṅṭapa* of four finely carved granite pillars before the *aṅtarāḷa* containing scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata. The *Vimāna* of this shrine has six steps, *phalaka, gaḷa*, round *śikhara* and stone *kaḷaśa*.

Shrine 14. This shrine has *Vimāna* of four steps, *gaḷa*, round *śikhara* and stone *kaḷaśa*.

Shrine 15. This is a comparatively bigger shrine with a carved entrance to the *Aṅtarāḷa*. There are two nandis on the roof. The *Vimāna* contains three steps, *gaḷa* and a *Nāgara śikhara*.

Shrine 16. This is a triple shrine with the main shrine in the centre and two subshrines, one on each side of a pillared *maṅṭapa*. The *Vimāna* is peculiar and approaches the *āyatāsra* or oblong variety. This shrine contains shrines Nos. 17 & 19. Near No. 19 is a fine figure of Mahiṣāsuramardanī. The pillars of the central *maṅ-*

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ṭapa contain relief sculptures depicting scenes from Vaiṣṇava mythology.

Shrine 20. This is another triple shrine with a *maṅṭapa* before it. There is a fine *saptamātṛka* slab in one of the side shrines.

Shrine 21. This is an empty shrine containing only the *Garbhagṛha.*

Shrine 22. This is also a single celled shrine but it has a well carved doorway. The Vimāna consists of six steps, *gaḷa* and a *Nāgara śikhara.*

SCULPTURES AND ICONS[7]

1. *Caṅdraśēkharamūrti*—On the outerside of the northern wall of the Bālabrahma temple. Standing in *samabhaṅga* this deity holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *akṣamālā* in the upper left, *khaḍga* in the lower right and keeps the lower left at the *kaṭi.* He wears graivēyakas, udarabaṅdha and triple girdle.

2. *Caṅdraśēkharamūrti*—In a projecting *kōṣṭa* on the outer side of the wall of the *garbhagṛha* of the Viśvabrahma temple. Standing in *samabhaṅga,* this god holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *paraśu* in the upper left, keeps the lower right in *varada* and the lower left at the *kaṭi.* He is adorned with kirīṭa, cakrakuṇḍalas, graivēyakas, yajñōpavīta of three strands and a girdle.[8]

3. *Sukhāsīnamūrti*—Seated in *padmāsana,* this god holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *paraśu* in the upper left, *akṣamālā* in the lower right and a round object in the lower left. He is adorned with kirīṭa and *jaṭas* flow to the sides. He wears cakrakuṇḍalas, graivēyaka, yajñōpavīta of three strands, udarabaṅdha, girdle and pūrṇōruka. There is naṅdi below.

7. The location of many of the sculptures and icons has been mentioned along with the description. The others are to be found in the local museum in the temple area.

8. Nos. 1 & 2 above are images of the *kevala* type. These images are required to show the deity with four hands, the upper right holding *triśūla* or *paraśu* or *ṭaṅka,* the upper left holding *ḍamaru* or *mṛga,* the lower right as kept in the *kaṭi* or *varada* or *kaṭaka* pose and the lower left as in *varada.* (Gopinatha Rao—*Elements of Hindu Iconography* II-1, 113-120) Only the *triśūla* is present but the other contents of the hands of this image differ.

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4. *Sukhāsīnamūrti*—Seated in *padmāsana,* holding *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *paraśu* in the upper left, *akṣamālā* in the lower right and a round object in the lower left, this deity is adorned with a *prabhā* of jaṭas, cakrakuṇḍalas, hāras, graivēyakas, yajñōpavīta of three strings and udarabhaṅdha.

5. *Sukhāsīnamūrti*—Seated in *padmāsana,* this deity holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *nāga* in the upper left and keeps the lower left in *varada.* He wears makuṭa, kēyūras, graivēyaka, hāras, yajñōpavīta of strings of pearls and *udarabandha.* There are two flying celestials above.[9]

6. *Mahēśamūrti*—At the entrance of the *Aṅtarāḷa* of the Bālabrahma temple. Standing in *samabhaṅga,* this deity has three heads and holds *cakra* in the upper right hand, *śaṁkha* in the upper left, keeps the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left at the *kaṭi.* He wears hāras, udarabaṅdha, triple girdle and an ūruka reaching below the knees.[10]

7. *Vīṇādharamūrti*—In a *kōṣṭa* in the courtyard of the Bālabrahma temple. Seated with the right leg bent at the knee and upraised and the left folded at the knee and resting on the seat, this deity holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, and another object in the upper left. His lower left hand catches the vīṇā while the lower right plays upon it.

8. *Vīṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti*—Seated with both the legs folded, this god holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *akṣamālā* in

9. Nos. 3, 4 and 5 are of Sukhāśinamūrti. An image of this description should show the deity as seated in *vīrāsana* holding *paraśu* in the upper right hand, *mṛga* in the upper left and keeping the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left in *varada* or *siṁhakarṇa.* The contents of the hands and their position are different in the examples described above.

10. An image of Mahēśamūrti should have four heads visible and ten hands. The upper right hands should hold *śūla, paraśu, vajra* and *khaḍga* and the upper left hands should carry *khēṭa, aṅkusa, pāśa* and *ghaṇṭā.* (*Hind. Ico.* II-2, pp. 379-386). Among published examples, one from Kaveripakkam (*Ibid* Pl. LXVI) has ten hands; one from Belgam (*Ibid* Pl. CXIV, fig. 1) has six hands; another from the Tanjore district has twenty-two hands; one more from Elephanta (*Ibid* Pl. CXVII) has six hands as does an image from Chitorgarh (*Ibid* Pl. CXVIII). The contents of the hands in all these examples are different. All are seated images. No. 6 above is an example of standing Mahēśamūrti and the contents of the hands are altogether different.

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the upper left and vīṇā in the two lower hands. Jaṭas emanate from his head to the sides. He wears a lotus pendant on the right ear and cakrakuṇḍala on the left. There is nandi below.

9. *Ardhanārīmūrti*—On the front wall of the *Antarāla* of the Bālabrahma temple. Standing in *dvibhaṅga*, this deity holds *nāga* in the upper right hand, *nīlōtpala* in the upper left, *triśūla* in the lower right and keeps the lower left hanging. There is a single breast on the left side. The deity is adorned with kirīṭa, a lotus pendant on the right ear and cakrakuṇḍala on the left, hāras and a broad band going down from the left shoulder and over the breast.[11]

10. *Vṛṣabhārūḍhamūrti*—In a *kōṣṭa* on the west wall of the *garbhagṛha* of the Bālabrahmēśvara temple. Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on the bull. The god holds *akṣamālā* in the right hand and passes the left round the back of the Dēvi and rests it on her left shoulder. He wears a peculiar makuṭa, hāras, yajñōpavīta and udarabandha. The Dēvī sits on the folded left leg of the god with her right leg hanging and the right bent at the knee and upraised. She passes her right hand round the back of the god and holds *nīlōtpala* in the left.[12]

11. *Tripurāntakamūrti*—On the east wall of the Svargabrahma temple. Śiva rides in a chariot drawn by four horses driven by Brahma with three faces. He has six hands, one holding *nāga* and another holding *triśūla*. The other hands are broken. The deity has a ferocious appearance.[13]

11. The contents of the hands of this image are different from those required by the Śilpa and other texts, and published examples. Cf. *Hind. Ico.* II-1, pp. 321-332 and Pl. XCIV and CV.

12. Gopinatha Rao has treated Vṛṣavāhanamūrti and Vṛṣabhārūḍhamūrti as identical but in sculpture they are shown differently. (*Ibid* p. 352).

13. Five forms of this deity are described in the texts and in all of them Śiva should be standing on *apasmāra*. (*Ibid.* pp. 166-169). The sculpture described above resembles one of them (*Ibid* pp. 169-170) though the bull is absent. The Ellora example is similar (*Ibid* Pl. XXXVII) but the deity has only four hands. In another example (*Ibid* XXVII) he has only two hands. In yet another (*Ibid* XXIX) he has eight hands and is seated in the *ālīḍhāsana*. The number of hands and their contents in this sculpture are different from those in all the examples mentioned above.

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12. *Lingōdbhavamūrti*—On the east wall of the Svargabrahma temple. In an aperture in a linga Śiva-Caṅdraśēkhara stands with his feet not shown, holding *paraśu* in the upper right hand *triśūla* in the upper left, keeping the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left at *kaṭi*. Brahma is shown on the right side as flying, as standing with his hands in *aṅjali* and as sitting in the yōga pose. Viṣṇu is shown on the left side as standing with his hands in *aṅjali* and as Varāha burrowing the earth.[14]

13. *Bhikṣāṭanamūrti*—On the outer side of the north wall of the Svargabrahma temple. Standing before the bull with his left leg stiff and the right kept in a slanting position, this deity holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, a round object in the upper left, keeps the lower right on the bull's neck and the lower left at *kaṭi*. A skull hangs from his *kaṭi*.[15]

14. *Āliṅganamūrti*—Loose icon inside the inner *pradakṣiṇa* of the Bālabrahma temple. Śiva is seated holding *triśūla* in the two upper hands, keeping the lower right in *abhaya* and passing the lower left round the back of the Dēvī. *Jaṭas* emanate from the sides of his *makuṭa*. The Dēvī sits on the god's folded left leg with her own right leg folded and the left hanging. She passes her right hand round the back of the god and keeps the left hanging.

15. *Āliṅganamūrti*—In the inner *pradakṣiṇa* of the Bālabrahma temple. Śiva is seated on naṅdi holding *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *nāga* in the upper left, a flower in the lower right and passing the lower left round the back of the Dēvī and resting it on her shoulder. He wears makuṭa, makarakuṇḍala on the right ear and cakrakuṇḍala on the left, graivēyaka, triple yajñōpavīta, udarabaṅdha and girdle. The Dēvī sits on his left thigh

14. Śiva as Caṅdraśēkhara should hold *paraśu* and *mṛga* in the upper hands and keep the lower hands in *abhaya* and *varada* (*Ibid* II-1, pp. 108-109) Here the contents and position of the hands are different. In one example (*Ibid* Pl. XIII) the god holds *paraśu* and *triśūla* in the upper hands and keeps the lower left in *kaṭi*. In two other examples (*Ibid* Pl. XIV, figs. 1 & 2) only the hand in *kaṭi* is common. The contents and position of the hands in this sculpture are peculiar.

15. The Bhikṣāṭanamūrti of this example is totally different from what he is required to be by the Texts and also from known examples (*Ibid* II-1, pp. 306-307 and Pl. LXXXVI-LXXXIX).

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with her hair done in a semicircular knot behind the head. There are two celestials on either side at the top, a nandi below Śiva and a lion below the Dēvī.

16. *Ālinganamūrti*—On the east wall of the outer *pradakṣiṇa* of the Bālabrahma temple. Śiva is seated with both legs bent at the knees and resting on the seat. He holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *paraśu* in the upper left, keeps the lower right in *abhaya* and passes the lower left round the back of the Dēvī. The Dēvī sits on his left thigh with her right leg folded and the left hanging. She passes her right hand round the back of the god and holds *nīlōtpala* in her left.

17. *Ālinganamūrti*—Seated with the left leg folded and the right hanging, this god holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *akṣamālā* in the upper left, keeps the lower right in *abhaya* and passes the lower left round the back of the Dēvī and rests it on her left shoulder. He wears kirīṭamakuṭa, cakrakuṇḍalas, hāras, graivēyaka, triple yajñōpavīta, channavīra, udarabandha and girdle. The Dēvī sits on the god's left thigh with her legs bent at the knees and upraised and passing her right hand round the back of the god and holding *nīlōtpala* in her left hand. Her hair is done in the shape of a bun behind her head and she wears cakrakuṇḍalas, hāras, and graivēyaka. There is nandi below.

18. *Ālinganamūrti*—Seated with the left leg folded and the right hanging, this god holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *nāga* in the upper left, keeps the lower right in *abhaya* and passes the lower left round the buttocks of the Dēvī. He is adorned with kirīṭamakuṭa, cakrakuṇḍalas, two hāras and triple yajñōpavīta. The Dēvī sits on the god's left thigh hanging her left leg, passing her right hand round the back of the god and holding *nīlōtpala* in the left hand. Her hair is done in the shape of a bun behind the head. She wears hāras, mēkhala and cakrakuṇḍalas. There is a nandi below.

19. *Ālinganamūrti*—Seated with the left leg folded and the right hanging, this deity holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *nāgā* in the upper left, *akṣamālā* in the lower right and passes the lower left hand round the back of the Dēvī resting it below her left breast. He wears a *makuṭa* with *jaṭas* flowing behind, makarakuṇḍala on the right ear and cakrakuṇḍala on the left, three hāras, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha, girdle and ardhōruka. The Dēvī sits

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on his left thigh passing her right hand round his back and holding *nīlōtpala* in her left hand. Her hair is done in the shape of a bun behind the head. She wears cakrakuṇḍalas, two hāras, girdle with a *siṁhalalāṭa* buckle and pūrṇōruka.[16]

20. *Naṭarāja*—This deity stands in the *catura* pose holding *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *nāga* in the upper left, keeping the lower right in *karihasta* across the chest and the lower left in *abhaya*. He wears kirīṭa, hāras, udarabaṅdha, yajñōpavīta and triple girdle. There is a *prabha* behind the god.

21. *Naṭarāja*—Standing in the *catura* pose, this deity has eight hands holding *ḍamaru, paraśu* and *bikṣāpātra* in the upper right hands and flame, *nāga* and *triśūla* in the upper left hands. His lower right hand is in *cinmudra* and the lower left in *karihasta* across the chest. He wears jaṭāmakuta with the crescent moon to the left and *kapāla* in the centre. He is adorned with makarakuṇḍala on the right ear and cakrakuṇḍala on the left, two hāras, graivēyaka, udarabaṅdha, yajñōpavīta and girdle. There is a man playing the flute to the right and a woman beating cymbals to the left.

22. *Naṭarāja*—Standing in the *catura* pose, this god holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *nāga* in the upper left, keeps the lower right hand across the chest in *karihasta* and keeps the lower left in *abhaya*. He wears a kirīṭa with *triśūla* marked on it. Jatas flow to the sides. He is adorned with cakrakuṇḍalas, hāras, yajñōpavīta, udarabaṅdha and girdle. There are two celestials on either side above. There is a man at the right bottom seated on a stool with a pitcher before him and at the left bottom a man seated and beating the cymbals.

23. *Naṭarāja*—Standing in the *catura* pose, this deity holds *khaṭvāṅga* in the upper right hand, *nāga* in the upper left, keeps the lower right hand in *karihasta* across the chest and the lower left in *cinmudra*. He is adorned with kirīṭamakuṭa, makara-

16. The Texts require Śiva of Āliṅgana variety to be of the *kēvala* form (*Ibid* pp. 120-121). In known examples in which both the god and the Dēvī stand, the god holds *paraśu* and *mṛga* in the upper hands and keeps the lower right in *abhaya* (*Ibid.* Pl. XVIII, fig. 2). In one case (*Ibid.* Pl. XX) he holds *triśūla* and *ḍamaru*.. All the examples described above are of the seated variety. *Triśūla* in one upper hand is common to all, *nāga* to three, *abhaya* to three and *akṣamālā* to two, though in different hands.

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kuṇḍalas, hāras, yajñōpavīta, girdle with siṁhalalāṭa buckle, a long garland reaching the thighs and a *prabhā* of jaṭas. There are two flying celestials on either side at top and a man playing the flute at right bottom and a man playing the drum at left bottom.

24. *Naṭarāja*—On the under side of the ceiling of the mahādvāra in the second section. Standing in *tribhṅga* leaning to the left, this deity has eight hands, the upper right hands holding *kuṅta, khaḍga* and another object and the upper left hands holding *ḍamaru, dhanus* and *khaḍga*. The two lower hands hold a *daṇḍa*. He is adorned with makuṭa, hāras, graivēyaka, yajñōpavīta and triple girdle. There is a woman at the left bottom sitting cross-legged holding a dagger in the right hand and a bow and round object in the upraised left hand.

25. *Naṭaraja*—On the under side of the ceiling before the entrance of the inner *pradakṣiṇa* of the Bālabrahma temple. This deity has eight hands, the upper right hands holding *triśūla* and an object and one of them resting on the right thigh and the upper left hands holding *taṅka* and another object and one palm in the *kartarī* pointing downwards. The lower right hand is in *karihasta* across the chest and the lower left in *tarjanī*. There are two celestials at the top and two musicians at the bottom.

26. *Naṭarāja*—In a *kōṣṭa* in the courtyard of the Bālabrahma temple. This deity holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, *dhanus* in the upper left, keeps the lower right in *karihasta* across the chest and the lower left in *muṣṭi*. Jaṭas emanate to the sides. He is adorned with makuṭa, makarakuṇḍala on the left ear and cakrakuṇḍala on the right, hāras, graivēyaka, udarabaṅdha and triple girdle. There are two celestials above, a man beating the drum to right bottom and a woman beating cymbals to left bottom.

27. *Naṭarāja*—On the outer side of the north wall of the Svargabrahma temple. Resting the left leg on the ground and with the right leg uplifted, this deity has sixteen hands. There are three musicians and naṅdi at the bottom right, a man dancing in the centre between the legs of the god, Gaṇapati with two hands and a woman to bottom left.[17]

17. Nos. 20, 22, 23 & 24 represent the *Lalita* mode of dance. The position and contents of the hands are different Cf. *Ibid* II-1, pp. 224-226.

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28. *Naṭarāja*—On the outer side of the southern wall of the Svargabrahma temple. Standing with the right leg stiff and resting on the ground and the left uplifted, this god has sixteen hands. There is nandi and a man dancing to bottom right and a sage with his hands in *aṅjali* standing on one leg and a woman to bottom left.

29. *Naṭarāja*—On the outer side of the west wall of the Svargabrahma temple. This deity has *jaṭas* emanating to the sides and holds a tree in the upper right hand. Devī is shown as riding the bull to the top right and an elephant, to top left, a ṛṣi with the kamaṇḍalu hold up and two women to bottom right and a woman to bottom left.[17]

30. *Kumāra*—In a kōṣṭa on the outer side of the south wall of the outer *pradakṣiṇa* of the Bālabrahma temple. Standing in samabhaṅga, this god holds *akṣamālā* in the right hand and *kukkuṭa* in the left hand resting it on the *kaṭi*. There is a *patākā* behind him to the left.

31. *Kumāra*—In a kōṣṭa on the outer side of the west wall of the *garbhagṛha* of the Svargabrahma temple. Standing with the peacock behind, this deity holds spear in the right hand and a round object in the left. He is adorned with cakrakuṇḍalas, thick yajñōpavīta and double girdle.

32. *Kumāra*—In a *kōṣṭa* on the outer side of the west wall of the Padmabrahma temple. Standing in *dvibhaṅga* before a peacock and leaning to the right, this god holds spear in the upper right hand, *akṣamālā* in the upper left, keeps the lower right at the *kaṭi* and holds *kukkuṭa* in the lower left hand.

33. *Kumāra*—Standing before the peacock with the left leg stiff and the right slightly bent, this god holds spear in the upper right hand, *pāśa* in the upper left, keeps the lower right in *abhaya* and passes the lower left round the back of Dēvī resting it on her left shoulder. He is adorned with kirīṭamakuṭa, cakrakuṇḍalas, hāras, graivēyaka, channavīra, yajñōpavīta, udarabaṅdha, mēkhalā and mañjīras. The Dēvī stands with her left leg stiff and the right slightly bent, passing her right hand round the back of the god and resting her left hand on *kaṭi*. Her hair is done in the shape of a bun behind the head.

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34. *Kumāra*—Standing with the right leg steady and the left slightly bent at the knee, this deity holds *śakti* in the upper right hand, rests the lower right hand on *kaṭi* and passes the lower left hand round the back of Dēvī resting it on her left shoulder. He is adorned with kirīṭamakuṭa, śaṁkhakuṇḍalas, hāras, yajñōpavīta of three strings of pearls, udarabaṅdha, mēkhalā, girdle with pearl hangings, ardhōruka and mañjīras. The Dēvī stands with her left leg stiff and the right bent at the knee with its foot resting behind the left calf. Her left hand hangs down while the right is passed round the back of the god. She is adorned with cakrakuṇḍalas, hāras, graivēyaka, pūṇōruka and her hair is done in the shape of a big knot thrust to the left. There is a peacock behind the couple.

35. *Kumāra*—Standing in *samabhaṅga,* this god holds *triśūla* in the right hand and *kukkuṭa* in the left. He wears kirīṭamakuṭa, pendants on the ears, hāras, pearl yajñōpavīta, udarabaṅdha and girdle.[18]

36. *Bhairava*—Standing with the left leg slightly bent, this god holds *ḍamaru* in the upper right hand, *triśūla* in the upper left, *khaḍga* in the lower right and bowl in the lower left. Jaṭas emanate to the sides. He is nude but wears yajñōpavīta and girdle. There is a dog to bottom left.

37. *Bhairava*—Standing with the left leg slightly bent, this god holds *ḍamaru* in the upper right hand, *triśūla* in the upper left, *gadā* in the lower right and bowl in the lower left. He is nude.

38. *Bhairava*—Standing in *dvibhaṇga,* leaning to the left, he holds *ḍamaru* in the upper right hand, bowl in the upper left, *khaṭvāṅga* in the lower right and *nāga* in the lower left. He is adorned with hāras, graivēyaka, yajñōpavīta, udarabaṅdha, channavīra and nāga below the pelvic girdle. He is nude.[19]

18. Nos. 30, 31 & 35 are of the two handed variety. Nos. 33 & 34 are of the *Dēvīsahita* variety. A standing image of Kumāra is required to have four hands (*Ibid* II-2, p. 424) but Nos. 30, 31 and 35 above show the god with only two hands. None of these examples agree with published examples (*Ibid* II-2, Ch. XI).

19. The description of none of these examples of Bhairava agrees with those required by the Texts (*Ibid* II-1, pp. 174-182).

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39. *Gaṇapati*—On the inner side of the front wall of the inner *pradakṣiṇa* of the Bālabrahma temple. This deity has a real elephant head and ears and holds *pāśa, aṅkusa, ḍamaru* and *mōdaka* in the hands.

40. *Viṣṇu*—In a *kōṣṭa* on the outer side of the west wall of the Svargabrahma temple. Standing in *samabhaṅga*, this deity holds a round object (padma?) in the right hand and *śaṁkha* in the left hand resting on the *kaṭi*. He wears cakrakuṇḍalas, graivēyakas, udarabaṅdha and triple girdle.

41. *Trivikrama*—Inside a projecting pavilion on the outer side of the west wall of the Svargabrahma temple. Standing with the left leg stiff and the right uplifted, this god has eight hands. The upper right hands hold *gadā* and two other objects. The upper left hands hold *khēṭa, dhanus* and another object. The lower right hand holds a long *gadā* and the lower left *śaṁkha*. He is adorned with kirīṭamakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas, graivēyakas, pearl yajñōpavīta, udarabaṅdha and girdle. There is a drummer to right bottom. Bali is shown below making the gift and Vāmana as receiving it.

42. *Viṣṇu*—On the underside of the ceiling of the mahādvāra. This god stands in *samabhaṅga* before Śēṣa who has his body in three curls and his hoods spread above. The god holds *padma* in the upper right hand, *gadā* in the upper left, *cakra* in the lower right and *śaṁkha* in the lower left. He is adorned with hāras, graivēyakas, udarabaṅdha, yajñōpavīta and three girdles. There are two celestials above playing the vīṇā, Garuḍa to right bottom, a man to left bottom seated holding up a lotus in his right hand and catching the tail of Śēṣa with his left hand.

43. *Sūrya*—There is a chariot drawn by seven horses behind this god who stands in *samabhaṅga*, holding a lotus in each hand. He is adorned with kirīṭamakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas, graivēyakas, triple yajñōpavīta, mēkhalā, girdle with pearl hangings and wears an ardhōruka. There is *prabhā* behind his head.

44. *Sūrya*—Standing in a chariot driven by a driver in *samabhaṅga*, holding a lotus in each hand, this deity is adorned with pendants on the ears, graivēyaka, pearl yajñōpavīta and triple girdle. There is a woman holding a bow on each side.

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45. *Brahma*—Standing in *samabhaṅga,* this three-headed deity holds *pāśa* in the upper right hand, *kamaṇḍalu* in the upper left, *akṣamālā* in the lower right and keeps the lower left in *varada.* He wears cakrakuṇḍalas, hāras, triple yajñōpavīta and girdle.[20]

46. *Brahma*—On the under side of the ceiling of the mahādvāra. Standing on a lotus in *samabhaṅga,* this deity has four hands one of them holding a small bag. He is decorated with hāras, graivēyaka, udarabaṅdha, triple yajñōpavīta and triple girdle. There is a woman carrying a vessel to top right, a man holding a lotus to top left, a man carrying a basket at bottom right and a man holding a vessel at bottom left.

47. *Durgā*—In a kōṣṭa in the north wall of the *garbhagṛha* of the Bālabrahma temple. Standing in *samabhaṅga* with each foot on the back of a lion, this deity holds *triśūla* in the upper right hand, bell in the upper left, *khaḍga* in the lower right and a round object in the lower left. There is a *prabhā* behind her head. She wears nāgakuṇḍalas, hāras, udarabaṅdha and double girdle[21]

48. *Mahiṣāsuramardanī*—Standing with the right leg stiff and the left resting on the neck of the buffalo, the goddess holds *cakra* in the upper right hand, *saṁkha* in the upper left, thrusts *triśūla* with her lower right hand into the body of the buffalo and pulls out the tongue of the animal with her lower left hand. There is *prabhā* behind her head. She is adorned with kirīṭamakuṭa, graivēyakas, kēyūras, cakrakuṇḍala on the left ear and makarakuṇḍala on the right, kucabaṅdha, yajñōpavita and mēkhalā. There is a lion to right bottom.

49. *Mahiṣāsuramardanī*—Standing with the right leg stiff and the left bent at the knee and resting on the back of the buffalo, this deity has eight hands. She holds *bāṇa, cakra* and *khaḍga* in the upper right hands and *dhanus,* nāga and *ghaṅṭa* in the upper left hands. The lower right hand thrusts *triśūla* into the back of a

20. This example is different from that of Brahma given in the Texts (*Ibid* II-2, pp. 504-505).

21. The *triśūla* is common to the *Nīlakanṭhī* and *Kṣēmaṁkarī* forms and *khaḍga* to three other forms (*Ibid.* I-2, pp. 341-344). *Ghoṇṭā, khaḍga* and *triśūla* are held by an eight handed Durgā from Mahabalipuram (*Ibid* Pl. CI).

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human being coming out of the mouth of the animal and the lower left rests on the head of the man. There is a lion to bottom right.

50. *Mahiṣāsuramardanī*—Standing in *tribhaṅga* with the right leg bent at the knee and resting on the ground and the left resting on the back of the buffalo, this deity has eight hands. She holds *śaṁkha, khaḍga* and *śūla* in the upper right hands and *khēṭa, khaḍga* and another object in the upper left hands. The lower right hand thrusts *triśūla* into the body of Mahiṣa while the lower left pulls out the tongue of the animal which is semi-human. She is adorned with kirīṭamakuṭa, pendant drops, hāra, yajñōpavīta and a girdle with the *siṁhalalāṭa* buckle. There is a lion at right bottom biting the foot of the buffalo.

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Curzon's Successors and the Partition of Bengal: A Conflict in Conscience

BY

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With the opening of the Private Papers of John Morley and Lord Minto to scholars in the Archives of England and Scotland respectively after fifty years' time limit, a good deal of the inner story of the Partition of Bengal comes to light.* Lord Curzon decided to divide Bengal and it was done. What actually inspired him to take this decision, and what actually worked in his mind after the scheme of partition was finished, would always lead to some amount of suspicion as well as controversy inspite of historical datas and material available, and no real verdict on his motive and purpose can ever be given in all certainty. Keeping the plan and purpose of Curzon apart, what we find as interesting is the problem which Curzon's successors had to face in working out the Partition. Even more interesting than this was the inner conflict in the mind of men who, while working out a scheme, could not decide among themselves if the decision was justified. Had Curzon continued in office to work out his scheme, he should have worked it out with conviction. But his successors, inheriting a difficult problem continued to work upon it, with a conscience far from being clear. This inner conflict was in a way the tragedy of the British administration of that difficult time.

The Partition had been decided upon before Lord Minto came to India and was the result of, so it was said, long deliberations and detailed inquiry during Curzon's term of office. Minto, on his arrival, set himself to assess the merit as well as the consequences of the work. As the Viceroy saw, the opinion of the official world in India was unanimous in approving of what had been done and in

* Papers of John Morley are available in the India Office Library, London; and the Mass of Minto Papers in the National Library of Scotland at Edinburgh. Morley and Minto ruled India between 1905-1910, and their Papers were opened to the scholars in 1960, after 50 years of their Indian administration.

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accepting it as the only possible solution of the undoubted difficulties of the position, whilst he was told from the same sources that the agitation was really not due to any genuine national feeling in India, but that it had been brought about largely by the loss of a certain amount of business, especially legal business, which tended to migrate from Calcutta to the large cities of Eastern Bengal, and that this feeling was fanned into a blaze by wire-pullers at Calcutta. The Indian Press, on the other hand, as Minto saw, was violent and, in some cases, seditious, asserting generally that the Partition had been carried out regardless of Bengal national sentiment and local feeling, and that it had been aimed to a great extent at the Swadeshi movement representing the local industries which the Government was accused of hoping to destroy, and which it had been attempted to protect by the boycott of British goods. Judging both sides of the story Lord Minto confidentially reported to John Morley, the Secretary of State, in December 1905:

"There is no doubt a great deal of truth in the assertion that the agitation has been unscrupulously fostered, and that influence has been brought to bear on the student class and Universities to join in the movement. But at the same time I cannot but think there is much more genuine feeling in the movement than the official mind is prepared to admit. It would be perhaps unfair for me to express myself too strongly as to a piece of legislation, the necessity of which it would only be possible thoroughly to understand after a detailed analysis of many considerations and an intimate knowledge of local feeling, but I cannot help suspecting that local feeling has been treated with some want of sympathy in aiming at what in the official mind is considered necessary for administrative machinery. The population of Bengal has no doubt bitterly resented the action which has taken so large a slice from the province, and which too they might perhaps have been more willing to sacrifice in another direction. If the East Riding of Yorkshire was for the best possible administrative reasons handed over to Lincolnshire, I think we should hear a good deal about it, and I believe it is incorrect to deny the existence of a somewhat similar feeling here."[1]

1. Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, 13 December, 1905.

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Minto was a conservative, was appointed by a Conservative Government at Home, and succeeded the Conservative Curzon. In December 1905, he was new to India and was just beginning to know his problems. The impression which he first formed on the question of Partition shows that he could not satisfy himself on the justice of the question. The above letter he wrote to John Morley, the Liberal Secretary of State, who was just entering on his new job, while the Viceroy was extendihg a hearty welcome on Morley's assumption of office.

Very soon the Viceroy entered deep into the matter. He had a good many conversations with Indian gentlemen in regard to the Partition, both supporters of the Government and leaders of public opinion on behalf of the agitation. The Muhammedans who largely preponderated in Eastern Bengal appeared to him as generally satisfied with what had occurred, while the most modest of the Bengali representatives seemed to think that the agitation was settling down, and that for administrative purposes there was much to be said for the Partition. "But putting the Mohammedans aside I should say," reported the Viceroy, "that the opinion is decidedly that there has been a want of consideration for local sentiment, that people have not been consulted who ought to have been consulted and that the over-bearing tone of Curzon's speeches on several occasions has tended seriously to increase the bitter feeling which exists."[2] He further became convinced that the Partition might have been effected with much greater regard to Bengali sentiment if instead of the sacrifice of a part of the Eastern Provinces, Bihar and Orissa had been handed over respectively to the United and Central Provinces. This no doubt would have entailed further administrative changes in those provinces, and possibly the formation of another Lieutenant-Governorship, but according to Minto, this course would have been better.

Surendra Nath Banerji and A. Chawdhury who were both pronounced leaders against Partition, emphasised before the Viceroy that it was not the Partition they objected to, that they recognized the necessity of some partition and that they would be quite prepared to agree to a partition in the direction of Bihar and Orissa. But what they did object to was the attitude of Lord Curzon

2. Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, 20 December, 1905

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and the want of enquiry from those who were to be affected by the change throughout the whole course of the transaction. The leaders further told the Viceroy that the agitation was being kept up with a hope of discussion of the whole thing in the British Parliament, and the possible reversal of the action taken.

The conflict in Minto's mind developed on account of the two aspects of the problem. From the Indian point of view the Partition was extremely unpopular and personally he himself could see no much justification behind the step taken. But from the Government point of view the matter had boiled down to a clear policy that a decision already taken by a previous Viceroy should be followed by the succeeding Viceroy. This was an issue of prestige. Minto's dilemma was due to another point. The Conservative Government at Home which appointed him to the Indian Viceroyalty had adopted the Partition policy and Minto was himself a loyal conservative. It was expected of him therefore to be true to the party line at Home. The new Liberal Government which defeated the Conservatives and came to power was expected to follow a new policy. A Liberal Secretary of State could direct a Conservative Viceroy to change the former policy in the light of the policy of the new Government. This the Viceroy was obliged to obey, but damaging thereby the reputation of his own party as well as his own political convictions. It was natural, therefore, for the Viceroy to follow a course of action keeping both the things in view. He revealed the conflict of his mind in a letter to Morley:

> "I .... feel generally how undesirable it is in India that a change of Government at Home should be looked to as likely to bring about the reversal of decisions arrived at here. Still I cannot but think, though no doubt this agitation is settling down and will eventually disappear, a feeling of soreness will remain, and that we have been committed to a somewhat unfortunate piece of legislation."[3]

Still another difficulty for Minto was that though loyal to the Conservative policy, he found it almost impossible to adjust himself to the methods of Curzon in connection with public duties. He clearly pointed out to the Home authorities how intensely Curzon's

3. Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, 20 December, 1905.

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egotism and ambitions had shed their influence over public life in India and how bitter was the Indian feeling which he aroused against him by the Partition of Bengal and his speeches in connection with it.

The Liberal Secretary of State, John Morley, was no less disturbed over the question of Partition. He had no liking for what the Conservatives had done, and had much less regard for Curzon's works. A man of strong attitude he was quite capable of altering the decision of a previous Government. But to take radical step all at once was a difficult question for any new Government in the British system. With a Conservative Viceroy in India, Morley had to proceed with caution. Shortly before he entered into his Indian Office, he heard from Gokhale for half an hour what the Indian Leader had to say on the subject. Gokhale appeared to him as pleasant and attractive, but while listening to him with patience, Morley decided not to say anything about the matter. This he thought a wiser policy. On the other hand, he privately said to the Viceroy, "What you say of the Partition of Bengal strikes me as likely to be altogether just and reasonable."[4]

On 12 January 1906, Lord Minto received an Address from the Indian Association. This Address, it was said, "was certainly a bold and outspoken statement of Bengali grievances, and a few Viceroys have received an Address of such a character."[5] In his reply, the Viceroy proceeded to make it clear that the Partition should be upheld, showing his inflexible determination to pursue the course so far followed. He was, he explained, the executive servant of the Home Government; but apart from that he thoroughly believed that the policy he had to carry out was the best and wisest. He declared plainly that he would be misleading them if he were to hold out any hopes of reversal of the Partition from the new Ministry. Thus, he disappointed the people who entertained hopes for some time that a Liberal Govrenment at Britain with a Secretary of State like John Morley would reconsider that critical question.

The Viceroy was clearly contradicting himself. He declared that he was the servant of the Home Government; at the same

4. Morley Papers, Morley to Minto, 11 January, 1906.
5. Minto Collections, Paper Cuttings, Indian Daily News, 13-1-1906.

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time without waiting to receive the decision from Home from his new Masters, he made it known that any hope of a reversal of the Partition from the Liberal Ministry was wrong. For the Indian leaders the problem now was, whom should they look up to—the Liberal Secretary or the Conservative Viceroy! There was a time when the Indian Viceroy and not the Indian Secretary of State, who practically ruled the country. But that state of things no longer existed at the opening of the 20th century. Only three days after the Viceroy's famous reply describing himself as servant of the Secretary of State, an Indian Paper retorted: "Even Lord Curzon—'the greatest of English Viceroy's who had undoubtedly a strong individuality and an indomitable will of his own —had to yield before Mr. Brodrick, though the latter was only a mediocrity. It was. therefore, scarcely necessary for Lord Minto to state that he was bound 'to carry out a policy approved by the Secretary of State.' "[6] The Viceroy's real diplomacy was to have his own policy (or rather the policy of the Conservative Party) carried out while professing himself to be a servant of a Liberal master.

In the meantime Sir J. B. Fuller was ruling the newly created Province of the Eastern Bengal and Assam as its Lieutenant Governor. Fuller was the choice of Lord Curzon himself to give Partition a concrete shape; and while ruling the Eastern Bengal, he adopted typical Curzonian methods to carry out his former master's policy. The Bande Mataram and the Swadeshi Agitation did not prove any lesson to Fuller. In fact, his rule of the new Province added fuel to fire. Within a few months, his methods of administration began to alarm the Viceroy himself. In March 1906, Minto complained before Morley:

> "I feel sure the Partition agitation is settling down and that what remains is due to the action of unsuccessful agitators. At the same time from start to finish the thing has been badly managed and I have not been at all pleased with what I have gathered of Fuller's doings."[7]

John Morley was getting alarmed at the spirit of restlessness which India represented. He was also developing an attitude, 'to

6. *A. B. Patrika*, 15 January, 1906.
7. Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, 29 March, 1906.

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see little deeper into what may be good and useful in the notions of men like Gokhale. He had no sympathy for Partition; instead he was beginning to nurse sympathy for the anti-partitioners. "If, as you say", he wrote to the Viceroy, "the whole thing has been badly managed from start to finish, then the anti-partitioners are not wholly in the wrong. Do keep me as fully informed as you can as to the working of Partition in all its aspects."[8]

Information reaching the Secretary of State pointed to the fact that Fuller was more unpopular than even the Partition. Sir C. Lyall who was a staunch friend of Fuller conveyed the idea to Morley that Fuller was exactly the man worst fitted for that post. "More and more do I feel how painfully right you were when you said the whole business had been badly handled 'from start to finish', and the temperament of Fuller is really a misfortune that crowns the original blunders."[9] The Secretary of State became more pronounced against the Partition. "Partition was unpopular. How could you best procure an abatement? Clearly by trying to give the 'agitators' as little to cry about as possible; to take as little notice as possible; to blow off gas in talk and articles; and never to meddle without clear and established prospects of breach of the peace."[10] But Fuller's administration moved in opposite direction. John Morley was speaking in clear conscience when he said: "Partition is a disagreeable pill. Well, that is all the more reason why we should take any change of gilding it. Fuller and his like seem to think that the best plan is to gild the pill with wormwood."[11] Morley therefore warned the Viceroy:

> If the agitation subsides, so be it. If not, I must say frankly that it will be impossible for me to carry both Partition and Fuller on my back. All these high-handed proceedings are simply playing the game of the enemies and critics of British Government in India."[12]

Lord Minto finally managed to bring about the fall of Fuller. The Lieutenant Governor was forced under circumstances to resign.

8. Morley Papers, Morley to Minto, 19 April, 1906.
9. Morley Papers, Morley to Minto, 3 May, 1906.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

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But Fuller's fall did not solve the problem of Partition. He was regarded as the most faithful Lieutenant of Lord Curzon, and a champion of the cause of Partition. But when he reached England and met Morley, to his great surprise the Secretary of State learnt from Fuller that the latter had opposed the Partition of Bengal in the way Curzon did it, and had written to him in that sense. Complaining against Minto, Fuller said to Morley that he never had any letter from the Governor General indicating the line of policy to follow.[13] This proved that the man to whom Curzon left behind in charge of the Partition, himself did not approve of it; and the new Viceroy who was ultimately responsible to make Partition a success, had no definite policy of his own.

What should be done to Partition after Fuller had been sacrificed? The Fuller episode invited an unforeseen result. To the Indians, it was a great victory that the Government had to surrender to popular demand. To the official world, the sacrifice of Fuller appeared as a great blow to the prestige of the administration. Should the Government surrender to agitation, sedition and terrorism? The movement received a great impetus when the autocratic Fuller was removed. The leaders hoped that the Partition could also be undone. To save the Government from further loss of prestige, Minto embarked upon a repressive policy. His earlier conviction that the Partition was wrong, no longer held ground. He had to sacrifice his conscience in order to show that the British Government was not afraid of the Indian unrest. John Morley, forgetful of the real cause of the movement, wanted to end it by means of constitutional concessions. The question of Reform dominated his attention. But both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State ultimately proved themselves as wrong. Neither Minto's repression nor Morley's Reform measures helped in keeping India calm. The conflict in conscience continued till Curzon's Partition of Bengal was undone after the hectic days of the Morley-Minto politics.

13. Morley Papers, Vide Morley to Minto, 5 October, 1906.

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The Carnatic Mission : Its Social Service

BY

DR. M. AROKIASWAMI

The history of the French missionaries in South India forms an indelible chapter in any account of French influence in South India. The Carnatic Mission was at first the name given to their plan of conversion of the Andhra to the Catholic faith. The pain took shape and was put into action in 1699, the last year of XVII century. It was in that very year that the town of Pondicherry was handed over to the French by the Sultan of Golkonda, a happy augury for a mission that was to begin its work from that town. On their own side, Louis XIV, the great king of France, had decided by that time to open out a path for what he called "India's conversion" with his own men and money. Thus it came about that Louis had found his men in the French missionaries of Pondicherry and they had found their money in the coffers of Louis XIV.

The Superior of the Pondicherry men was Fr. Tachard and it was under his direction that the Carnatic mission first operated. He selected three adventurous men—Maduit, Le Gag and De La Fontaine—all enthusiastic French priests, to map out the new region of activity. The way in which they did this work is among the most daring of adventures. Perhaps even the mapping out of Cathay achieved by the Jesuits round about the same time was not more frightful than this work. This ought to explain the very name "Carnatic Mission" given to a work that did not strictly pertain to the region of the real Carnatic.

The truth of the matter was that the locale of their activity was an utter mystery to themselves. "In the journey I made to spot the mission field," writes Fr. Maduit, "I went as far as Colalam"[1] by which he meant Kolar in the Mysore region. His companion after much exploration wrote after eight years of toil, "It

1. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, (Mysore and Coorg).

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(the Carnatic Mission) has no other limit than the Mughal empire in the north and on the west it is bound by a part of Mysore."[2] Some one told them that the Carnatic was all the region to the south of the Ganges and some others, that it was only the coast of the Coromandel.[3]

To get a proper background of the situation under which the Carnatic Mission worked one has to remember the history of the times. Besides the Nawab of the Carnatic there were the Maratha rulers, many princes and princelings, Viceroys and Governors and poligars without number to be satisfied before the mission could begin to do work. Almost every place of some importance had a person of importance to be satisfied as it was the case all over India not long ago. Fr. Maduit speaks of the 'Rajputs of Gudiyattam" in one of his letters written home and no one knows to this day who were the men of this dynasty. Thus the Carnatic missionaries had to contend with many local dignitaries whose names history has not recorded. Besides the natural enmity of the Hindus and Muslims, whom religion separated, their own brethren from Europe did not wish them well, for politics separated them. The Dutch in India at that time did not like these men from France, since French and Dutch interests were opposed in India. We must add to these the marauding tribes that infested the roads of the day, that led from Pondicherry to various places on the coast and in distant Andhra country. The missionaries lost their money and their few possessions very often on the roadside through robbery. One of their letters refers to this in the following manner:

> "The ryots of the Nawab of Kolala (Mysore) are in insurrection ..... and the roisavarus (caste of professional thieves) now set their trade going."[4]

Whenever the central power weakened the soldiers of the army were often the worst offenders in this direction. Then there was the danger from wild beasts. Many occasions are referred to by these missionaries when they were chased by tigers "eager for blood."

2. Annual Letters, Vol. VI, p. 365.
3. *Ibid.*, VIII, Gen. Index.
4. *Ibid.*, for 1743.

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To complete the dismal picture nature was also unkind to them. In the middle of the XVIII century a terrible famine broke out in North Arcot and the desolation caused was so great that the Nawab went dressed like a fakir with a chain round his neck and feet to implore Muhammad for rain. But when the rains actually came they did in torrents and floods inundated the entire landscape. This threw a lot of poor people on their support which they could ill afford. A missionary letter of the period gives an intimate account which depicts the situation graphically:

> "The Mission (Carnatic Mission) supplies the missionary annually with a hundred pagodas and thus is independent of the common and private alms sent to us from France. We are four of us in this part of the Mission. Each one of us has this year expended about 1600 livres and we are still upto our necks in want....Times are unfavourable and everyone's mind is bent on how to save himself and keep life going."

The only silver lining in this cloud was the favour shown to them by the Nawab, who liked the Christians, since in them he found the best raw material for his soldiery. The Marathas also liked them and Maratha officers sent oil and incense as offerings to the God of the Christians, who were in their service.[5] This favour coming from superior heights was itself not an unmixed blessing, since it provoked jealously and hatred, which undid in a large measure the good that was done. To cite but one example, Sleik, the adopted son of Daud Khan, the Nawab of the Carnatic, presented to the missionaries many lands to commemorate his victory over the Marathas, which rendered the position of the beneficiary very delicate. Many who did not see all this but with jealousy induced the Muhammadan rulers to ask them to produce money by magic, for, they said, "these Frenchmen understood the secret of making gold."[6] The Rajah of Ballapuram was made to believe that the missionary's intention in building the Church was to furnish a fortress for his enemies, whereupon he issued a curious order stating that "superstructural walls in stone masonry were not to exceed a yard in height and the remaining portion should be built of mud."

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, 503, 509; VIII, 4.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 385.

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It was under these circumstances that the Carnatic Mission took shape in South India in the closing year of the XVII century. The historians of the French in India and anyone interested in the social history of our country cannot but remember the good services performed by these men in letting in a new blood, as it were, into the cultural veins of our country. The Mission then begun has gone on uninterruptedly, though with many changes, down to our own times and is still active. In many places they have recruited a large array of our own cuntrymen to do this good work. They have to their credit today the conversion of more than a million men and women of South India to Christianity, which has in itself ushered in a change in the cultural life of India. To many more they have been educators, teachers and guides in many a secular matter. None has ever brought so singleminded a devotion to their task as these men have done. To the historians of India they have left behind through their annual letters written to Europe precious sources of information not to be had elsewhere. To Sociologists and Anthropologists, to Indologists and Achaeologists their works have helped as those of original investigators. Linguists will never forget the service of the missionaries. The first Sanskrit Mss. ever collected in India and sent to Europe were those of Pons and Calmette, two members of this Mission.

The work of these men has helped the social upliftment of the masses as only few agencies could do. They have served to demolish so many of the meaningless customs and taboos of this country, to abolish the difference of caste which has been the bane of Indian society long before others saw this danger and became alive to it. The monumental work of Abbe Dubois, one of these missionaries who had come out to India in 1792, on "Hindu Customs and Manners" thus served as a great eye-opener to many in this country and elsewhere. It was considered so valuable that the East India Company purchased it from the author for Rs. 8,000/- which must have been a sum of great value then. First published in the opening years of this century it has undergone three editions and numerous reprints. In France the same work was published in two volumes.

Now, this work considered as one of the most outspoken and accurate descriptions of society ever written by human hand had a remarkable effect in the transformation of our social conditions

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and still continues to have. This can be summed up under the following heads:—

(1) By pointing out clearly the follies of our social behaviour it spoke out for a change.

(2) It was original in certain of its conclusions. While being against the inordinate emphasis placed on caste, Dubois is one of the first writers to praise the service of caste in building up society. "After much careful thought" he writes, "I can discover no other reason except caste which accounts for the Hindus not having fallen into the same state of barbarism as their neighbours and as almost all nations inhabiting the torrid zone."[7]

(3) Dubois' work gives us an exact account of how we were a century ago. From the historian's standpoint this is a matter for great consideration. Numerous writers and speakers from the platform have quoted his work by now and yet there is no question of exhausting the book or its information. One narration which the author gives about Krishnadevaraya, King of Vijayanagar, is thus very instructive. Dubois adds the remark in a foot-note that well informed Hindus had told him the incident and it is not a mere story. Now the story goes on to say that once King Krishnadevaraya asked his minister Appaji the answer for the question, "Are the customs ridiculous or the people who follow them?" and in answer the worthy minister played a hoax on him by making his cowherd disguise as a great mendicant and making the king worship him. "Taking the advice of Appaji the king had a hair taken out from the saint's body and holding it to the people declared, 'I will preserve this all my life. I will cause it to be enclosed in a golden locket which shall always hang about my neck.'" Thus the story ends but its moral is obvious. Far was it from Dubois to laugh at the follies of the people his object was to correct them. Max Muller wrote of him in his preferatory note to the English translation of Dubois' work, "he was a man remarkably free from theological prejudices".

7. Dubois; *Hindu Customs and Manners*, 29.

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Was Nana, The Cause of Maratha Downfall ?

BY

CHIDAMBARAM S. RAMANUJAM

The clash between the Marathas and the British for supremacy in India covers a period of twenty years, significant in its beginning with the treaty of Salbai and, more significant in its end with the treaty of Bassein. The political similarity between the two and even the causes that led to them are of consequence in the Anglo-Maratha relations. Salbai ended the first Anglo-Maratha war and established regular diplomatic contact between the two. But Bassein was the cause of the war and thus contributed the means to the British to establish their influence at Poona.

With Salbai the Marathas had proved themselves equal to the British. They had successfully opposed the British interference, thus disclosing the vitality of the nation which had not been exhausted either by the disaster they suffered at Panipat or by the death of their great Peshwa, Madhav Rao. But, by 1802, their Confederacy had so weakened that they surrendered their independence to their rival without a battle. During the major part of this important period in Anglo-Maratha relations, Nana Fadnavis was at the helm of affairs of his nation. The Maratha weakness at the end of the century was not a sudden one due to any change in their political structure or a national catastrophe, but one that had set in gradually, due to internal dissensions and jealous motives among their leaders.

It is said that Nana's death in 1800 was the most important reason for the Maratha downfall in 1802.[1] It is true that he had been the architect of the Maratha Confederacy that successfully opposed British intervention in 1775. It was he who obliged Warren Hastings to be content with the treaty of Salbai, which was very beneficial to the Marathas. This undoubtedly is one of the greatest services rendered to the nation by any of its leaders in all her

1. India under Wellesley-Roberts, p. 187.

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history. But, with Salbai, Nana's patriotism became tinged with ruthless selfishness, which manifested itself in all his policies, much to the detriment of National interests and eventual weakness of the nation itself.

The personal jealousy that Nana entertained towards Mahadhaji Sindhia became more conspicuous after Salbai. Apart from being a member of the Maratha Confederacy and thereby included in the treaty between the Peshwa and the British, Sindhia also stood out as a separate power by a separate treaty with the British. Also, by virtue of his position as the mediator and guarantor of the treaty, he became the channel of Anglo-Maratha relations. He became the sole representative of the Marathas in all their affairs with the British. Such a rise in his power and influence was a source of great uneasiness to Nana.

Nana was anxious to dispense with the medium of Sindhia and thus lessen his influence. This was a major reason that led him seek British Residency at Poona, for which, politically, there was no necessity. It was in no way encouraging and heartening to the British to see Sindhia's power increasing any more than it was to Nana. But it suited their purpose to check his growth by establishing direct contact with Poona. It would also enable them to get an insight into the very power that alone was able to challenge their dominance in India. Little did Nana realise that by agreeing to a direct contact, he was only coming a step closer to the achievement of British ambitions. How far Sindhia realised the consequences and so disagreed with Nana is difficult to say. But it was Nana's jealousy of Sindhia that precipitated the move and "to invite a British diplomat to the Court of Poona was the worst folly committed by Nana."[2] He obviously had not realised that any weakening of Sindhia's power, which bore prospects of stability to the Empire, would only weaken the Confederacy. It is regrettable that a man of Nana's standing should have sacrificed national interests to motives of personal jealousy, by inviting a British representative inspite of Mostyn's behaviour after the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao. In his first interview with Charles Malet, the first Resident at Poona, he seems to have said

2. History of the British Diplomacy at the Court of the Peshwas. Choksey, p. 43.

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"What a happy omen".[3] A lack of insight into the British motives may be the only explanation for such a great diplomatic blunder.

The allies' war with Tipu, though a short one, left a significant mark on the political history of India. Strangely enough, the question of superiority between the Marathas and the British was settled, not in a war in which their arms clashed, but in this war in which they were allies, united by common fears of a formidable enemy. This can be clearly seen from the attitude of the British towards the Marathas before the war and immediately after.

In June 1790, when the alliance was concluded, the Maratha power stood equal to the British. Maratha co-operation was considered not only important to oppose Tipu but vital to safeguard the British interests in India. Cornwallis himself remarked that without the Maratha co-operation successful termination of the war would be impossible.[4] More than their co-operation was the British auxiety to prevent them from joining Tipu. Even when the Nizam sought a defensive alliance with the British, he was denied that security, not because the move to alienate him from the Marathas was considered impolitic, but because of the consequent antagonised effect upon the Poona Government, which might react unfavourably in their war with Tipu.

But, after the war, when the Poona Government contemplated pecuniary demands on Tipu, Cornwallis remarked that he would "not only refuse all countenance to it, but should an attempt be made to enforce it, he would "declare it unjust".[5] The Marathas were told that should they make any claim for Chauth, it would not only be treated with contempt but it can also never be mentioned without exciting our displeasure and indignation".[6] This was a definite change in their tone from the one before the war.

Tipu's defeat resulted in two important results. That the British could effectively oppose and put down any power was beyond doubt. The fact that this was achieved without Maratha co-operation, since it was Nana's deliberate policy during the war to

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 38.
4. Cornwallis, Malet, 27th Jan. 1790, P. R. Correspondence, Vol. III, pp. 54-55.
5. Cornwallis, Malet, 27th Oct. 1792, P. R. Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 256.
6. Cornwallis, Malet, 27th Oct. 1792, P. R. Corrsespondence, Vol. II, p. 256.

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delay, shift and evade assistance to the British, gave them the moral advantage.

So long as Tipu remained powerful, he proved not only a source of danger to the British but also served an indirect cover to the Maratha weakness. As in the first Anglo-Maratha war, where the British had to seek and accept the treaty of Salbai, largely because of the pressure of Haidar in the Carnatic, the power of Mysore and its antagonism had thrown them into a constant source of anxiety for Maratha co-operation and support. But now that Tipu was weakened, there remained no source of alarm and the British were left to direct all their strength to the eventual subordination of the Maratha power.

It has been said that it was Nana's diplomacy which succeeded in forming an alliance with the British against Tipu, resulting in the maximum of reward and minimum of assistance rendered.[7] The Maratha assistance in the war was not only the minimum but largely uncertain as well. Their reward, however, was no greater as the ceded districts of Tipu were shared equally. Even the role of the weakest member of the alliance, the Nizam, was equal to that of the Marathas, not only in the assistance rendered but also in the rewards gained. Could it be then the Nizams success in diplomacy was also due to Nana?

Even if Nana's diplomacy gained much materially, we cannot ignore the more important results. The Maratha reward seems great compared to their exertions in the war, but surely it was because of their minimum assistance that they lost their status of equality with the British. Had they co-operated vigorously, they could have claimed an equal share in the military glory. This fact had great influence on the British, who not only adopted a stern and dominant attitude immediately after the war but became ever after confident of their strength and Maratha weakness. It is clear that Nana was not far sighted enough to look to the real and long standing interests of the nation. Instead, he looked to the immediate material advantages at the expense of moral advantages and national prestige.

7. History of British Diplomacy at the Court of the Peshwas — Choksey, p. 15.

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After the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao in 1795, Raghunath Rao's son Baji Rao was the legal claimant to the Peshwaship. But Nana's dislike of him proved to be the beginning of troubles at Poona, which eventually led to the treaty of Bassein.

Because of Raghunath Rao's intrigues that provoked the Anglo-Maratha war, Nana never seemed to view Baji Rao's causes favourably. Now that Baji Rao was of age to conduct the affairs of the State, he was all the more against him, for fear of losing his power. The situation was such that "Badgy Rao must be excluded or Nana fall".[8] Nana's desire for power was such that there was nothing he would not try just to continue in power and he intrigued against circumstances and political pressure. As a result the Marathas found themselves in the midst of what was almost a civil war.

The Peshwa's widow was mentioned as the Head of the State and it was Nana's intention of "bringing that lady forward in some conspicuous point of view".[9] Soon he contemplated adopting a boy as the Peshwa and to retain his power and position by acting as the guardian.[10] But he could not find a suitable boy and with the delay the aversion of the Maratha leaders became apparent. Sindhia was not in favour of such designs and informed the British that he would "act in concert with the Company in disavowing the unjustifiable introduction of an usurper".[11] If the British would support Sindhia "many others now deterred by the power of the minister, whose measures they plainly perceive are directed to the mere selfish preservation of that power during a very precarious life" would apply to them as well.[12] Vast disagreements were taking place in Maratha politics and a request for British interference only exposed their weakness. As in 1775 the British were once again given the opportunity to interfere and it was a pity that the very man who stood against it and opposed it so vehemently should be the cause of yet another such opportunity to them as well.

8. Palmer, Malet, 28th Nov. 1795, P. R. Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 400.
9. Malet, Shore, 9th Nov. 1795, P. R. Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 396.
10. Malet, Co. of Directors, 13th Dec. 1795, Ben. Pol. and Sec. Constns, 4th Jan. 1796.
11. Malet, Co. of Directors, 13th Dec. 1795, Ben. Pol. and Sec. Constns, 4th Jan. 1796.
12. Malet, Shore, 4th Dec. 1795, Ben. Pol. and Sec. Constns, 4th Jan. 1796.

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Finally, when Baji Rao was installed as the Peshwa, inspite of the seeming cordiality, latent jealousies operated in Maratha politics. By 1802, their power, due to the internal dissensions since the death of their Peshwa in 1795, had so weakened that "there never was a period at which the Mahrattas were more divided, nor one at which there was less prospect of immediate union, than that on which the treaty of Bassein was negotiated".[13]

Great tribute has been paid to Nana by his contemporaries as well as historians. His reputation is mostly based on the unrivalled power he possessed over the Poona Government for about twenty years. It is also believed that he ceaselessly endeavoured to unify the Maratha Empire but the fact that he tried ruthlessly to achieve it under his control only resulted in disastrous consequences. It is Nana who is to be blamed for the gradual weakening of the Maratha Confederacy and the political condition of the Marathas that presented a great opportunity to Wellesley to establish British influence at Poona.

13. Malcolm, 24 Oct. 1804, Additional MSS (British Museum) 13592.

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Anecdotes of Nizam-ul-Mulk

BY

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Lala Mansaram served as Secretary to the first Nizam, Nizam-ul-Mulk. His family had attached itself to Khwaja Abid, the grandfather of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Ever since his arrival in India during the time of the emperor Shahjahan, Mansaram's grandfather, Balkrishna, served under Khwaja Abid. His son Bhavanidas served under Gaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung, the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Mansaram's son, Laxminarayan Shafiq Aurangabadi, was Secretary to Alijah, the eldest son of the Nizam, the Nizam-Ali Khan.

Mansaram is the author of two Persian works dealing with the life of the first Nizam. (1) The Risalai — Darabare — Asafia which has been published, deals mostly with the rules and regulations laid down by Nizam-ul-Mulk for administrative guidance. Mansaram composed this work in 1761 A.D. The second (2) work is the Masire Nizami. This book is yet unpublished. Through the kind efforts of Dr. P. M. Joshi of the Secretariat Records Office, Bombay, I was able to secure a photostat copy of the manuscript from the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

The work runs into 194 pages. It must be said, however, that Lala Mansaram has dealt with the life of Nizam-ul-Mulk in a very cursory way. The whole biography of Nizam-ul-Mulk has been completed by him in 97 pages. Even of these, the first 16 pages deal with the career of Nizam-ul-Mulk's father and grandfather.

While dealing with the biography of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Mansaram touches only a few episodes in the life of his patron. The conflict with the Sayyad brothers, the fight with Mubariz Khan, Nadirshah's sack of Delhi and the rebellion of Nasir Jung, have been dealt with by him. There is hardly any mention of Nizam — Maratha relations in the work. In fact, Mansaram disposes of the period in the Nizam's life from 1724 to 1738 in a few sentences. There is a briefest possible reference to the Nizam — Maratha

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conflict at Bhopal (1737-1738) and no reference at all to the Palkhed campaign of 1728, wherein Bajirao forced the Nizam to accept the claims of the Marathas.

From page 98 to 104 Mansaram has noted the testament of Nizam-ul-Mulk. This version given by him, differs to some extent from the version of the testament which Mansaram incorporated in his earlier work, the Risalai — Darabare — Asafia, written in 1761. The Masire Nizami is, it may be noted a later work of Mansaram having been composed in 1200 Hejira (1784). As such the testament as recorded in the earlier work should be taken as more authoritative than the one found in Masire Nizami.

From page 105 to 177, Mansaram has recorded 94 anecdotes of the Nizam. He says that many of the anecdotes were heard by him directly and the rest were from trustworthy persons who were in constant attendance on the Nizam. From page 178 upto 194 Mansaram has incorporated a few letters of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The only important letter worth noting is the one which Nizam-ul-Mulk wrote to emperor Muhammad Shah after his victory over Mubariz Khan. The rest of the letters are written to saints and fakirs, invoking their blessings.

In the following pages, all the 94 anecdotes of Nizam-ul-Mulk have been translated from the original Persian. They reveal the personality of Nizam-ul-Mulk more thoroughly than would have been possible from any other source. Attention of scholars is drawn particularly to anecdote No. 76 wherein the following passage occurs, "It is necessary to take our hands off Malwa. God willing I will enter into an understanding with them (Marathas) and entrust the Mulukgiri on that side of Narmada to them." There is a hint in anecdote No. 90 that Nizam-ul-Mulk might have been poisoned. Nizam-ul-Mulk's reactions to the alleged displeasure of the Emperor Muhammad Shah may be seen in anecdote No. 39. "He (Emperor) is not satisfied that I have contented myself with only one corner of the country."

The following remarks about the Marathas may be found in anecdote No. 29. "I have won over these people. Otherwise they were the rulers of the country. The Emperor Alamgir with his immense army and the expenditure of the entire treasure of

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Hindustan could not defeat them. I have made them faithful and obedient to me through displomacy."

Mansaram's hints at the possibility of Nizam-ul-Mulk being poisoned have to be taken cautiously. Similarly his remarks about the critical attitude of Nizam-ul-Mulk towards his son Nasir Jung. It must be remembered that Mansaram wrote this book in 1784 when Nizam-Ali Khan, the fourth son of Nizam-ul-Mulk was ruling. It is possible that Mansaram might have thought of running down Nasir Jung if only to be on the safe side. Any way the alleged poisoning of Nizam-ul-Mulk is a matter which requires careful scrutiny at the hands of scholars. The anecdotes fully reveal Nizam-ul-Mulk as he was, shrewd, ambitious, diplomatic and persevering.

ANECDOTES

No. 1 page 105.

After the victory over Dilawar Khan and Alam Ali Khan by the Nizam, the affairs of the emperor fell into disorder. The vazirs and amirs of Delhi were in similar positions. Mubariz Khan, the Subadar of Hyderabad became proud and arrogant. The Nizam, feeling that the end of this would be bad, and watching the situation, sent Muhammad Anwar Khan, the Governor of Burhanpur, to explain matters to Mubariz Khan . He sent the farman of the emperor with Anwar Khan. He sent a message that Muhammad Khan should not enter into strife and thus cause the slaughter of Muslims. He should go to Delhi. If Mubariz Khan succeeded in getting the Nizam transferred and obtaining the letter of appointment to Deccan in his name a second time, the Nizam promised that he would not fight with him. Muhammad Khan had a big army. He had four times the troops of the Nizam. He had eminent generals as his colleagues. He did not pay any attention to what Muhammad Anwar Khan said. Three times he cried out that he would like to have war. After Muhammad Anwar Khan had taken leave of departure, Mubariz Khan left Hyderabad with a numerous army of infantry and horsemen. By long marches he reached the environs of Sakharkheda to which he was drawn even as a moth is drawn towards a flame. He made operations for war.

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The Nizam started for Aurangabad. His army was not more than one fourth of the enemy's army. The Nizam took his artillery with him. He placed his reliance on God, praying "Oh Almighty Lord! I do not have enough strength. I pray to you in all humility. You are all knowing. Do not turn away from me. I have traversed a distance of 50 kos with a view to enter into battle against the enemy. The enemy is full of pride and has collected a large force. I do not have enough strength nor do I want any bloodshed. He is bent upon shedding blood unnecessarily. I am firm in my surrender to your will and I have taken refuge in you with all my people. I am awaiting what fate is to bring to me. Oh God. All inward and outward things and all things hidden from our eyes are clear to you."

After the Nizam had prayed he experienced a message from the unknown. It was as follows. "You have sought assistance from us. You fix four artillery on this side of the stream. The Harkaras who are posted on that side of the stream should be persuaded by you through gifts and rewards, that under no circumstance, the enemy should know that you have gained access to the stream."

The Nizam regained his consciousness. He performed ablutions and prayed to God. He called for Rs. 5,000 from the treasury and sent them to the Harkaras with a letter. These gifts of money were made secretly. The Harkaras said that they would perform whatever services were expected of them for the gifts made. The Nizam instructed them to exclude all reference to the stream in their newsletters. The Harkaras saluted and went away. The Nizam turned his attention to the organization of his forces. He whispered in the ears of the captain of his artillery, "Half of the canons in the artillery should be filled not with canon balls but with copper coins. The remaining half of the canons should be filled with canon balls." This was done accordingly. The battle raged and the artillery boomed for 5 ghadis when the wind of victory began to blow towards the Nizam. Mubariz Khan was killed. A number of people were slain. The drums of victory began to be beaten. The Nizam ordered that nobody should move from his place. The personal box of Mubariz Khan was ordered to be removed from his elephant and brought to the Nizam. The Nizam opened the box and read the letters himself. Some of the letters

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were written by men of his army and by his colleagues. They were found in the box. The Nizam collected these letters and placed them before himself. Azduddowlah Bahadur Qasura Jung Iwaz Khan was in the vanguard. The Nizam called for him and told him of the leters written by his colleagues to Mubariz Khan. Azduddowlah said, "If you give these letters to me I will blow all these people from the canons. They will receive due punishment for their deeds. Others will take lesson from their punishment and will not behave treacherously." The Nizam replied, "This affair should in no case be settled in such a way. God has given me victory. He has saved the person and property of my colleagues who have written these letters. Had they known the result they would have behaved properly. They wanted to behave in a discreet manner thinking that if, God forbid, victory was to rest with the enemy, they would have to search for service elsewhere. My first duty is by my army. Doing justice (punishing them) can only be my secondary concern. We are generals of the army. What deeds a man will not do for his belly. The writing of letters has been the result of promptings of human nature. To ignore it will be better. Not to read the letters and scrutinise them would be better and would be a friendly deed on my part. I have not brought the people here to ruin my affairs. You want to blow them from canon? I have not called you for this purpose." The Nizam handed over the letters to the elephant driver and said, "get some fire and burn these letters. Let them be trampled and buried by the feet of the elephant." Turning in anger, the Nizam said, "I will make arrangements for the encampment and the reception of the people of the enemy. People have no food. Nor do the animals have food and a place for stay. They are all in utmost distress and fear of their souls. We will make arrangements for the burial of the dead and proper treatment of the wounded. After doing this I will offer my condolence and support to the dependents and relatives of the dead. Who knows tomorrow such a day will be faced by others as well."

After having freed himself of all the above matters the Nizam marched in continuous stages towards Hyderabad. He then camped at Khammam. As a result of the victory which he had won and by the grace of God, the provinces of Chicacole, Rajmahendri, Machali-bunder, Kortur, Sarvapalli, Ellore, Mustafanagar, Muvtazanagar, Arcot, the talukas of Bijapur Karnatak and Hyderabad

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Karnatak fell into the hands of the Nizam. The Governors of the forts of these provinces submitted and sent presents through their agents. Many of them appeared before the Nizam in person and received assurances of security. They achieved their desires. The Nizam was fortunate. He had the help of God. He was righteous. He started making arrangements for the administration of areas far and near. He gave assurances to all people, big and small, and made them contented by gifts and other considerations.

No. 2 page 110

It was brought to the notice of Nizam-ul-Mulk that the two Governors of the forts of Daulatabad (who were Sayyads) had, out of shortsightedness and mistaken notions given refuge in the fort to the family and dependants of Alam Ali Khan and Hussain Ali Khan. Considerable property including jewellery and cash belonging to the Sayyads (Alam Ali Khan's dependants) were being kept in their possession. It was necessary to punish the governors of the fort. On hearing of this the Nizam ordered his writer Ramsing as follows:—Letters be written to the two governors of the fort of Daulatabad holding possession of the inner and outer battlements. The letters should be as follows: Your action in giving refuge to the dependants of the Sayyads (Alam Ali Khan) is highly commendable. We expect further such consideration from you. Inform me of all your requirements. God willing they will be fulfilled. The family and dependants of Alam Ali Khan may be informed that what was ordained had happened. There is no remedy but to remain patient. All things of the world can be obtained excepting bringing back the Sayyads who had been killed. If the family and dependants want to stay in the Deccan, they will be given *Jagirs* and *Inams* in whatever province they desire. But if they are determined to return to their homes in Barha, then an escort and the required allowance will be provided for them. The governors of the fort submitted that inquiry was made of the family of Sayyads. They had expressed their desire to return to their homes. Out of kindness, Nizam-ul-Mulk gave them Rs. 10,000 in cash and provided an escort of 200 horsemen. A two months advance of salary was made to the horsemen. After the families of the Sayyads reached their homes in Barha, the horsemen obtained leave to return.

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No. 3 page 111.

One day Nizam-ul-Mulk graciously remarked to those present in the select assembly as follows: "Verily the deeds of God are many and strange beyond comprehension. There was a Kashmiri employed in the secretariat of my father, (May the grace of God be on him), Gazi-Uddin-Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung. He had the fullest confidence of my father. This vile person had unnecessarily carried tales against me to my father, with the result that my father turned the mind of the emperor against me. One day according to my routine, I went to the court of the emperor Alamgir. I could not secure audience. I returned in great distress of mind. While returning from the court, I noticed on my way that a number of dogs had collected before the shop of a baker and bread seller. The baker was cutting the breads and throwing them to the dogs. The stronger ones among the dogs used to jump and catching hold of the morsels eat them. There was an old, weak and insignificant looking she dog. It was standing at a distance, and was extremely hungry and practically starving. The morsels would not reach it. The strong dogs would not allow the morsels to reach it. They used to snatch them and eat them gleefully.

It struck me, "T-day this she dog is as distressed as myself." I said to myself, "if you take pity on the dog, God will take pity on you too." I stopped my palanquin and handed over two rupees to the baker instructing him to give full measure of food to the dog. After it had eaten its fill, the rest of the food should be given to the other dogs. This was accordingly done. I saw that after having a hearty meal the dog sat on the ground and turned its head towards the heaven three times. I felt that it was praying for me. I too whispered softly the word Amen! Amen! Then I instructed my servant to give an allowance of two rupees daily to the baker so that the she dog be given food every day while the rest should be distributed to the other dogs.

I left that place and reached my camp. I was thinking of getting down from the palanquin when the mace bearer of the Emperor came to me and informed me of the royal command to go to the court. Accordingly I returned and appeared in the court. Asad Khan was attending to business. In accordance with orders he took me to the chamber and gave me the robes of appointment

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of the Subedari of Bijapur and Faujdari of Karnatak and Talikot. The Almighty showed kindness in this way.

No. 4 page 113.

After the victory in battle in which Mubariz Khan was killed, the Secretary Ramsingh submitted that, "despatches relating to the dogs. The stronger ones among the dogs used to jump and the victory won were being addressed to the mansabdars, jagirdars, and governors of the forts throughout the province of Deccan. The battle was fought on the 23rd of Muharram in the 6th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah. The date 23rd Muharram is an inauspicious one. What date should be inserted in the despatches to be addressed?" The Nizam remarked, "the date was inauspicious for Mubariz Khan, while it was auspicious for us. The same date may be mentioned in the despatches".

No. 5 page 113.

During the course of a march, the Nizam's camp happened to be established on the banks of the river Krishna. It so happened that a bird (Maina) built a nest in the tent of the Diwan-Khana of the Nizam. It laid eggs in the nest. When the camp was to be broken and march resumed, the attendants brought this fact to the notice of the Nizam. The Nizam ordered that until the small ones came out of the eggs the tent should be kept standing at the same place. Two hundred infantry men were left to look after the tent, and the Nizam marched forward. After two months a representation was received from the attendents that the young birds had come out of the eggs and flown away. After this, according to the order of the Nizam the tent was removed and sent to the camp.

No. 6 page 113.

The Fakirs (Darvesh) made a request to the Nizam, who was visiting the tomb (Rauza) of Shah Abdul Qader situated near the Zafar gate of the city of Aurangabad, "There are no allowances fixed for the conduct of the festival for feeding the poor, for lighting the Rauza etc. The Fakirs and the pilgrims visiting the tomb are put to great trouble. Many of them are addicts of tobacco and hukka. Fakirs find it very difficult to stay in the precincts of the Rauza.". In passing orders on the requests of the Fakirs the

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Nizam remarked, "the Khankah (Monastery) is a place of light (Noor). What connection can this Noor have with fire and tobacco. A man can put down his taste for tobacco by the light that is within him." The Nizam appointed Sayyad Muhammad Magni to the custody of the Rauza, and gave a Sanad accordingly. From that day Sayyad Muhammad Magni carried on his duties as its custodian. The Sanad is to be found in the office of the Sadar (Director of Religious Affairs.).

No. 7 page 114

After the battles with Dilawar Khan, Alam Ali Khan and Mubariz Khan, nobody engaged in a fight against the Nizam. On the day of the march of the Nizam, Azduddaulah Bahadur, Khwaja Abdul Rahim Khan Bahadur, Hamid Khan Bahadur and other relatives of the Nizam came up to him. They were riding on their own elephants, which were very well equipped with Amari and other valuable trappings. They were accompanied by their attendants on the elephants who used to wave fly whisks and Morchels. In this crowd, and, judging from the splendour of these officers, it was difficult to distinguish which was the Nizam's own elephant. This greatly annoyed the Nizam. The officers enquired of its cause but could not get the information. One day at the time of marching, the Nizam stopped his elephant and told the nobleman in attendance to stop the practice of Morchel and waving of the fly whisks. They should drive away the flies by means of the cloth tied to their belt. The Nizam's relatives became wise after this event. From that day no nobleman could march near the elephant of the Nizam unless sent for. Some would be in the vanguard, some in the centre, some to the right wing. In this way the army would reach its next camp. Everyone learnt a lesson. The Nizam too would not ask any nobleman to march near him unless he desired him to accompany him or unless somebody made a request and which was granted.

No. 8 page 115.

In the 13th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah, Azaduddowlah died. The Nizam ordered the drums to be silenced in mourning. Condolence letters were written to Sayyad Jamal Khan and others. Jagirs were given to the sons of Azaduddowlah and allowances were given to other dependants. Orders for the confiscation of jagirs bestowed on Azaduddowlah were issued. The Nizam

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then remarked, "Today I have become the Viceroy of the Deccan." The Nizam then removed the persons appointed by the late Azaduddowlah in his office.

No. 9 page 115.

In the regnal year 13 of Muhammad Shah, the Nizam ordered that the allowances of persons continuing from the time of Khuld Makan (Aurangzeb) should be reduced to two thirds and the allowances of the time of Khuld Manzil (Bahadur Shah) should be reduced to one third. It was represented by the dependants of these persons that the reduction of the allowances would result in great distress to the people who had a number of dependants upon them. The Nizam remarked, "I desire that the allowances of some may be increased and that the full allowances of others may be continued. I want to sanction allowances newly for those who have no means. But at the time of passing orders my officers kept quiet. They did not understand that the allowances sanctioned during the time of Khuld Makan should be continued while those of the time of Khuld Manzil should be stopped."

No. 10 page 116.

Haider Quli Khan was appointed as the Diwan of the Deccan in the reign of Farukh Siyar. Counting on the support of the Sayyad of Barah, namely, Husain Ali Khan, he often disobeyed the orders of the Nizam. One day it reached the ears of the Nizam that a number of people of small offices had made a representation to the emperor. He thought it below his dignity to look into it. He said, "I do not like his interference in my affairs. It seems to be his deisre to confirm Haider Quli Khan in his office." The Nizam ordered his secretary Ram Singh to draw up a representation to the emperor containing the following. "Haider Quli Khan is competent and faithful, a diplomat and a man of understanding. It would be proper to appoint a man like him to the governance of the province of Gujarat. The province is suffering as there is no Governor there for a long time. If one is appointed the province will be restored to order. "The representation was placed before the emperor. The emperor ordered Haider Quli Khan to proceed immediately to Ahmadabad, Gujarat, and take possession of the province. The emperor remarked, "I am not pleased with you due to your lack of understanding, but Nizam-ul-Mulk has recommended your name. The Nizam is an experienced person. Out of con-

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sideration for him we have appointed you to the province of Gujarat. After Haider Quli Khan had reached Ahmadabad, the Nizam remarked, "I have achieved a number of purposes in one stroke. To-day I have become in fact the Viceroy of the Deccan."

No. 11 page 117.

One day while holding convers with select officers in his chambers, the Nizam referred to the evil designs of Mubariz Khan. Tahawur Khan Bahadur said that Mubariz Khan had evil designs and received due punishment. The Nizam remarked, "Tell me what design did Mubariz Khan have" Tahawar Khan said, "Mubariz Khan's son is in the camp. Enquiry may be made from the son of the designs of his father." The Nizam ordered his attendants to bring Mubariz Khan's son. Accordingly he appeared. "Come in! Come in!!" said the Nizam loudly. The Khan came and took his seat according to the procedure. After a moment's silence the Nizam asked, "Tell us what designs your father had at the time of the battle." At this the Khan went white with nervousness as if his soul was about to depart. He composed himself and said, "may your life and kingdom increase. You are protecting us. We do not know our father. And what do we know of his designs?" The Nizam again asked him" Compose yourself, and without having any fear, tell us of the designs of your father." The Khan replied once again "I have no information of my father's designs more than what has been submitted to you. He received his due punishment. It was right." At this, tears came to the eyes of the Nizam. He said, "God willing, no evil will come to you from me. I hold you as dear to me as my own children. I will always be your well-wisher. I will always have consideration for you. I have given you jagir. I have also excused you the service conditions of the jagir." He spoke these reassuring words after the thanks giving prayer (Fateha). The Nizam remarked, "My God give you the strength to follow what I have said. After this the Nizam gave leave to the Khan to depart.

This was narrated to me (Mansaram) by the Khan himself. I have heard it from him not from any other source.

No. 12 page 118.

One day the army was on the march. On arriving at the camp the Nizam entered the tent of his drawingroom to perform his

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prayers. He saw that the tent was full of smoke and dust. The Nizam came out of his special tent. He looked at the sky. There was no wind. Outside the tent also there was smoke. Haji Hasan was the officer (Daroga,) in charge of the drawingroom. The Nizam asked about the reason for so much smoke and dust. He replied, "Some villages happen to be situated in the midst of the camp of the army. Some unruly elements are setting fire to the villages. As no wind is blowing smoke has accumulated and penetrated the tents. The Nizam ordered that the superintendent of the camp be called for. The Nizam then turned to attend to his prayers. After the prayers were over the Superintendent (Ihatmami) appeared. The Nizam said, "I have provided for the mounted troops to keep order and make arrangements. If the unruly elements are setting fire to the villages, of what use are you people." The Superintendent was frightened. He submitted, "I am taking all necessary action. I have caught hold of three or four unruly persons and cut off their hands, noses and ears. But this has not had the desired effect." On hearing this, the Nizam flew into a rage. He said, "You have cut off the hands, noses and ears of the people. Do you think that they are so many stalks of wheat and millet that they can grow year after year." The Nizam ordered that the tyrant should be removed immediately.

The officer of the establishment was immediately appointed to the post. The Nizam said to him, "Beware and see that no harm comes to people and that such incidents do not occur again.

No. 13 page 119.

There was a famous saint known as Shah Gulam Muhammad. One day the Nizam had gone to meet him. He remained there for a long time listening to devotional songs. After the songs were over the Nizam continued to stay for some more time. At the time of departure he made an offering of Rs. 500 to the saint. The saint instructed that the amount be made over to the Qawals (singers). This was done accordingly. Afterwards, the saint said to the Nizam, "The Deccan belongs to you, but I am hearing from a long time that you do not retain people in their respective jurisdictions for more than one year. You change them even if they are not guilty of any untoward act." The Nizam said, "I have attended upon many saints for a long time but none had passed such remarks so far. The reason for my action is that the Deccan con-

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sists of six provinces. There were monarchies in every province prior to this and armies consisting of one lakh horsemen, 2 lakh infantry, a number of ministers and noblemen were maintained in each province. Since the time of Aurangzeb the whole province of the Deccan was conquered and came to be placed under one person. The noblemen, ministers and respectable families all found themselves unemployed. Due to these circumstances I began to appoint by degrees respectable people to suitable posts. My aim was that no one should remain unemployed. If they were appointed for one year they could make arrangements for subsistence for four years. I used to invite them to my table for meals. When this news spread, their status increased, with the result that the Mahajans (merchants) of the army on hearing of my consideration for them began to lend them money on demand willingly. I began to appoint these people. In this way I supported respectable and merited families. I never allowed two talukas to be absorbed into one. I have issued instructions to keep in touch with respectable people."

No. 14 page 121.

One day the Nizam ordered the Superintendent of the drawing-room that Muhammad Anwar Khan and Khwaja Abdulla Khan should not be allowed admission to the court. Musawi Khan was present in the court. He was considered guilty of a grave fault. He was ordered to be thrown out of the drawingroom. Muhammad Hasan Munshi was appointed in the place of Musawi Khan.

Tahawar Khan was a man of understanding. He was an Afghan of Khweshgi clan. He always assisted people who had no other means. He had no equal in sympathising with, and consoling and helping, the afflicted and the needy. He had a greater influence with the Nizam than any-one else.

On hearing of the action of the Nizam in barring Muhammad Anwar Khan and Abdulla Khan from the court and expelling Musawi Khan, he hastened to the Nizam. He saw the Nizam in private and by tact and sweet words he calmed down the anger of the Nizam. He said, "Although you have ordered Khwaja Abdulla Khan to be expelled, I have considered it proper to bring Abdulla Khan here, so that he should take leave of you. I have kept him in the tent of the sacred relics." The Nizam remarked, "Those subject to my anger and punishment are not given a formal

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leave of departure. They have committed a grave fault. Why do you make a request for them. It is both useless and untimely." Tahawar Khan said softly and persuasively, "He (Abdulla Khan) was your constant companion. This is known throughout the world. This status had turned his head and has resulted in this. As the Arabic proverb says the insult of a servant is the insult of the master. His expulsion will take away from him his status and prestige. This will also affect the prestige of the master. You may please consider this aspect. Any nobleman who falls from your grace and departs without being given formal leave will be without influence and nobody will obey him. He and his family will lose all prestige, name and influence. May your Kingdom increase. During the time of the prophet it is recorded, "If any one committed any fault, in his prayers and devotion he was told that he should not repeat his mistake again." The grace that is in pardoning cannot be found in taking vengenee. If the prophets and great men of the past did like that we should not depart from their proceedings."

The Nizam remained silent. Tahawar Khan brought Khwaja Abdulla Khan out of the tent and brought him to the chamber of the Nizam. He spoke once again to the Nizam with a softness and persuasiveness which to any one else would be unbelievable. The Nizam appointed the son of Abdulla Khan to the governorship of the fort of Bhongir in the province of Hyderabad. He got the Nizam to sign the order. Abdulla Khan partook of the dinner, lunch and coffee drinking of the Nizam according to practice.

Tahawar Khan also got the Nizam to order Khwaja Abdulla Khan to bring Muhammad Anwar Khan. He also got the Nizam to pardon the faults of Musawi Khan. Musawi Khan was guilty of great crimes.

The fact is, Tahawar Khan was possessed of a wonderful personality. He always did people a good turn and ever exerted himself in coming to the help of respectable persons, men of good breeding, noblemen and their offsprings, of places both far and near. In this activity he had no equal. He used to recommend people to the Nizam and exert himself in their favour. He was very much popular and has laid a host of people under the debt of obligation. One of those who owed his rise to Tahawar Khan is

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Mir Abdurrazaq Khan who came to be known as Samsamuddowlah Samasam-ul-Mulk Shahnawaj Khan Bahadur Samsam Jung.

No. 15 page 123.

At the time when there was scarcity in Aurangabad and the Nizam was camping there he asked the learned men, "During times of scarcity what is proper, payment in cash grant or gifts in grain?" Some people had difference of opinion. Karimuddin Khan who was the Qazi of Aurangabad went to the Nizam and said, "Payment of cash grant is better. It can be distributed to all." The Nizam remarked, "You have spoken properly. There are many difficulties in purchasing grain in the name of the government and distributing it to the needy. It also happens that some people obtain grain as gift and sell it to meet their needs. This is not good. There are many difficulties in adopting such a procedure." The Nizam ordered that 4 lakhs rupees should be drawn from treasury and honest men placed in four different places so that they could make grants to each individual among the indigent and poor. Accordingly the distribution took place from four different centres viz., The Qila Ark (governor's residence), Muhamadi Bag, MaQbara-I-Begam the Masjide Jame. The grain situation was eased. The rains also broke out. The Nizam prayed to God in thankfulness for his mercy.

No. 16 page 124.

The Nizam often used to remark thus, "There are four factors which prove calamitous to the ruler and his kingdom, (1) When the ruler becomes indifferent to and ignorant of the conditions of his people, (2) When the ruler indulges in excessive drinking, (3) When the noblemen become very intimate with each other and (4) Encouragement to people of low birth."

The Nizam further used to remark, "Man is a helpless being. If we consider carefully, the Almighty God demands obedience from man. The Prophet demands attachment to the rules of religion. Satan desires to tempt man while the angel of death wants to drag him away. His children are after his property. These things are enough to break the back of a man. The man is surrounded by many enemies. He has many offsprings but he is weak in character." The Nizam used to say, "what should I say about this world. I want to live for this world but the world does not want to live for me and if the world wants to live for me I

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cannot live for the world. The world is near me but as it is a passing one, it is also far away from me. And the day of judgement appears to be far away but as it is bound to come some day or other, it is so near me. Praise be to God."

No. 17 page 125.

The Nizam used to remark often, "For the proper administration of the province of the Deccan it is necessary that three communities should be avoided. Specially the custody of forts should never be given to the people of these communities. Other wise such a step would lead to untold difficulties. The three above mentioned communities are (1) Afghans (2) Deccanis and (3) Marathas. They have in their minds a claim to the governance of the Deccan. Treachery and cunning are dear to them.

No. 18 page 125.

The Nizam said, "The Emperor Alamgir bestowed Inam of a piece of land in the Haveli (Taluka) of Ahmadnagar on a deserving person. There was favourite servant of Aurangzeb, Madari by name, who was executive officer (Amil) in charge of Ahmadnagar. The emperor issued orders four times instructing that the deserving person should be handed over the land. Madari pleaded his inability to implement the order on grounds that land was not available. One day the agrieved person got near the emperor when he was on his way to perform prayers in the Jam-I-Masjid of Ahmadnagar. He complained to the emperor, "I have conveyed your order to the Executive Officer but he is not implementing the same." The emperor remarked, "Break your head against the stone." The aggrieved person said, "Agreed, I can break my head against the stone because the head is in my control, but your majesty's order were issued three times. They were not implemented, with what stone should I break them." The emperor got angry. On his orders the executive officer was brought in chains and thrown into prison. Another officer was appointed in his place. The aggrieved person was sanctioned an allowance of Rs. 2 per day from the royal treasury. From that day the emperor became cautious and would not sanction the grants of land.

The inmates of the emperor's harem recommended the case of Madari saying "Madari was disgraced by his working as executive officer (Khwar Shud)." The emperor taking this as a line

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of the couplet, wrote, "Khub Shud—It was all right. In what proportion were things mixed together." It is said that the emperor died in the same year.

The Nizam also did not sanction grant of Inam lands excepting in two or three cases, as the existing landholders were always unwilling to part with their lands, and often these Inam lands would clash with their interests.

No. 19 page 126.

Jafar Ali Khan was degraded from his office. He came to the Nizam. Accounts officers of the Nizam started auditing his affairs. As the officer concerned viz. Jafar Ali Khan was out of employment and had not been posted to any other place he was subjected to investigation by the officers of the court with regard to the accounts. Puran Chand, the Diwan of the Government sent a chopdar (attendant) in the name of the Nizam to Jafar Ali Khan. The attendant used some hard words. Jafar Ali Khan was a man of self-respect. He manhandled the chopdar. Puran Chand recorded this incident and placed it before the Nizam. The Nizam told Puran Chand as follows, 'You sent a man of low position to a man of self-respect like Jafar Ali Khan. The chopdar (attendant) behaved improperly. He has received due punishment for his behaviour. One should not behave in a way as would hurt others." In accordance with the instructions of the Nizam, Puran Chand sent a man of understanding to Jafar Ali Khan. Jafar Ali Khan wrote down the particulars of his charge such as elephants, horses, camels and other materials. This was put forward before the Nizam. The Nizam appreciated this. He told Puran Chand, "This is the charge of Jafar Ali Khan. This behaviour would be an asset to him either in my service or anywhere else. I would not like to take it. He should be given some employment. Let him remain here for some time." This was done accordingly. Otherwise, Puran Chand would have ruined Jafar Ali Khan. This was the good virtue of the Nizam that he appreciated merit, where as there was a lack of proper appreciation on the part of Puran Chand.

No. 20 page 127.

It is said that two horsemen belonging to the contingent of Abul Khair Khan Bahadur were to receive their salaries for two

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or three months. Without the channel of Bakshi (pay master) they made a direct request to the Nizam. The Nizam instructed them repeatedly to speak to the Bakshi. They did not listen and obstructed the path of the special elephant of the Nizam. On that day, accidentally, Abul Khair Khan Bahadur was not in attendance on the Nizam. The Nizam stopped the elephant for some time and asked them to bring their bill. He said, "Your salary will be paid to you." "They had prepared the bills of receipt. They said, "We will be dismissed. Whatever is to be paid to us should be paid immediately. The elephant should not be allowed to proceed before the payment is made." 'Praise be to God! The Nizam did not lose temper. He called for the mules carrying treasure and paid the dues of the horsemen. The elephant of the Nizam then advanced forward. The horsemen took the salary and took leave.

When the Nizam reached his camp, Abul Khair Khan Bahadur came to him. The Nizam turned to him and said, "Have you seen how the horsemen of your Risala behaved with me today during my march." Abul Khair Khan in reply recited the verse, "Treat them kindly as they are greatly attached to you." To this the Nizam replied, What! How can kindness be shown under this bitter behaviour." Abul Khair Khan remained silent for some time. The Nizam then remarked, "I am free from their obligation. They are guilty. Now what should be done?" Abul Khair Khan in reply recited the verse, "There is pleasure in pardoning which is not to be had in taking revenge." The Nizam smiled and ordered that they should be taken in service.

No. 21 page 123.

The Nizam graciously remarked, "I have constituted a brotherhood of select men. Many respectable persons come here from the Vilayat, (Central Asia) especially the Moghuls, who serve here and obtain high status. The Deccan has become their settling ground. Their status and authority are far above that of other servants. They constitute a special brotherhood. It becomes easy for me to pick up people from among these possessing special merit, courage and capacity and give them high posts. It is in accordance with this practice that men like Muhammad Riyaz Khan and Jamil Beg Khan have been picked up from the brotherhood and have, due to the kindness of fate, received high offices and will continue to receive further promotions. It is but proper to encour-

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age respectable people and entrust them with authority because merit and capacity are to be found among such respectable people and not among all."

No. 22 page 129.

Out of kindness the Nizam said to Muhatsham Khan Bahadur in his chambers. "You belong to a good family and I have regard for you and your dependents. You may sit in the chamber, attend to your papers and send them for my signature. That would be a good thing." Muhatsham Khan submitted, "May your life and kingdom increase day by day. The high status of my elders went with them. I have entered the service of your highness. You have been kind to me. By your grace my status is in no way less. I will not depart from the proper respects in any case, as it would be faithlessness on my part. There are other people in your service who are of equally high in status and come from distinguished families. They are like beads in a rosary. They will be greatly distressed. The etiquettes proper to the court will no longer be observed or they will fall into disuse. This itself will in course of time lead to displeasure on your part. The honour and security of we servants is dependent on your good will. It is only thus that an appreciation of our services will be possible. We will be able to serve better only when we do no transgress our limits and stick fast to our duties and functions. This alone would be proper."

No. 23 page 130.

One day the Nizam desired to visit the garden of the Begum (Bibikha MaQbarah) situated in Aurangabad. Arrangements were made for the visit to take place, the next day, accordingly. The superintendent of the establishment submitted, "All arrangements have been made at the Begum MaQbarah (grave)" on hearing these words the Nizam flared up and said, "May that grave be auspicious to you, get out". The Nizam cancelled all arrangements for the trip. He ordered all the carpets to be brought back from the place. From that day the place was never referred to as MaQbarah in his presence. On the other hand, it was always recorded or spoken about as the garden of the Begum. If any nobleman died, his death was reported in the following words. "So and so has obtained complete recovery."

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No. 24 page 130.

One day from among the footman deputed to guard the tent of the Nizam, some one fired a gun. The Niam sent instructions from his inner apartments as follows, "Who has fired the gun? Enquiries may be made. The name of the person of the company and the *risala* should be reported." Accordingly the Mushra (officer) of the female apartment, made enquiries and submitted the name of the person concerned along with the name of the jamadar of the *risala* to the Nizam. The Nizam signed the order of dismissal of the person and remarked, "I consider ammunition as more valuable than gold, silver or jewellery. In times of need, ammunition does not become available readily." From that day none dared to fire a gun. It was only on ceremonial occasions such as the appearance of the moon that guns were fired and that too once a month.

No. 25 page 131.

The Nizam issued orders to the following effect. "I do not mind even if such a procedure entails a loss of a lakh of rupees, but I do not want that representations be submitted to me at improper time and when I am distracted." (Be Mizaj We Be Vakhta). From that day the officers used to carefully consider the mood of the Nizam before submitting a representation.

No. 26 page 131.

After the victory over Nasirjung, Saiyid Lashkar Khan Bahadur presented the *Nazar* (offering) of victory. He presented an offering for the second time immediately after. The Nizam asked, "Why this *Nazar* for the second time?" The Khan replied, "the first one was for victory. The second is for the reason that your son has escaped injury on the battle field and is safe and sound." The Nizam accepted it. The Khan presented the offering for the third time. To the query he replied, "The name of your son is Nasirjung meaning victory in war. This name is given to those who do not retreat in war. As God willed it your son Nasirjung did not retreat in war. This, the third offering, is for his behaviour appropriate for his title. It is God's grace and your good qualities that the affair has ended according to your desire." "All right! All right." The Nizam said and accepted the offering.

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No. 27 page 131.

The Nizam remarked to his officer, "If the pay of the army which is to be paid monthly is withheld, it will result in a bad name, nor does this result in any benefit. A good planning is always effective. That is why I have decided to disband 2,000 cavalry from my own land as also two to four *Risalas*. The orders may be carried out. 5,000 horsemen will be maintained on an average pay of Rs. 30. Similarly 4 *Risalas* will be maintained. They will be paid month by month. This would really mean economy in the long run. This would, while achieving my aims, also save me from infamy."

No. 28 page 132.

There was a Saint in Parenda by name Shah Inayat Mujtaba. He said to the Nizam one day, "You are the favoured of God. It is in your destiny to attain material and spiritual wealth. I want that I should be your sharer and supporter in both the worlds. From the standards (flag) of your army let one be named after me. You will then see the blessings, gifts and success, which will accrue to you." The Nizam said, "This is my ardent desire." Accordingly one standard which was higher than all and was always exhibited in a central and prominent place was named after him. It could be seen from a long distance. This standard came to be known far and wide as the standard of Shah Inayat. This used to impress the enemies much.

No. 29 page 132.

One day the Nizam said to Muhatsham Khan, the Bakshi (pay master general) of the Deccan, "Azduddowlah Bahadur Iwazkhan has very little understanding of diplomacy. He is entirely ignorant of affairs of state. He is distinguished only for his personal bravery. I am fully acquainted with many of his disagreeable actions. At the time of the return of eminent Maratha generals like Bajirao, Chandrasen, Rao Rambhaji and Sultanji, the last of whom was the sarlashkar (Commander-in-Chief) of Raja Shahu, I sent them to Azduddowlah so that they could take leave of him. He did not show them proper respect. This was highly disagreeable to them. Nor did Azduddowlah allow me to show them proper respect. He openly said that he would not show respect to the Kafirs at any time nor would he ever maintain friendly relations with

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them. I had to go and tell him that diplomacy was an entirely different matter. I have won over these people (Marathas). Otherwise they were the Zamindars of this country. The emperor Alamgir with his immense army and the expenditure of the entire treasure of Hindustan could not defeat them. Many families were ruined and yet no benefit came out of this campaign. I have made then obedient and faithful to me through diplomacy. Through his one lack of courtesy to them (Marathas) he has ruined the entire affair." According to instructions, Muhatsham Khan Bahadur went to Azduddowlah and communicated to him the remarks of the Nizam. This was of no avail. On the other hand Iwazkhan picked up a quarrel about Khuda Baksha the Khwajasara. He remarked, "the Khwajasara has been given a high status and a mansab. Why was it done? Has he wielded his sword anywhere?" Muhatsham Khan came back and communicated the above affair. The Nizam remarked, "I have to think of other measures, I am tired of the lack of understanding and short-sightedness of this man. This is inexcusable. Good bye."

No. 30 page 133.

It was represented by the inmates of the Harem to the Nizam that Nasir Jung, then in detention was afflicted by remorse and grief. "The clothes which he wears are not fit for him." Accordingly the next day some pieces of Multani clothes purchased at Shahajahanabad were taken by Navnit Ram, the Peshkar (secretary) of the establishment department (Khan Samani). Navnit Ram placed the clothes in front of Nasir Jung. Nasir Jung, after a look at them, rejected the clothes. He said, "Oh friend! these clothes are fit as strappings for the horses of the stable. They are not fit for me.". As he had no alternative, Navnit Ram took back the clothes to the Nizam and said, "Nasir Jung does not take these clothes. He has rejected them." The Nizam said," Take out the price register of the clothes which I am wearing." This was done and it was found that the average price was Rs. 7 per piece of cloth, while the clothes sent for Nasir Jung were of an average price of Rs. 9 per piece. The Nizam ordered that the two price lists be taken from the office of establishment and placed before Nasir Jung. On having a look at the price list Nasir Jung felt regret and said to Navnit Ram, "Please go and convey my obeisance to the Nizam." Navnit Ram accordingly went to the Nizam and conveyed the words of obeisance (Taslimat) to the Nizam. Thus

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the matter ended. The Nizam gave orders to the inmates of his Harem. "Let none intercede for Nasir Jung henceforward. He fosters strife." The period of Nasir Jung's detention was increased. The name of Nasir Jung was struck off from the Register. The attendents made many requests in favour of Nasir Jung but the requests were never granted.

No. 31 page 134.

Ibadulla Khan the *amil* (Executive Officer) of Chicacole and Rajmahendri sent some gifts. The Nizam inspected them. Nazir Jung had been freed from detention and had been admitted to the audience of the Nizam. Some beautiful pieces of clothes from Machhalibunder of various colours had been received. They were shown to Nasir Jung. The Nizam praised the colours of the designs of the clothes for a long time. Nasir Jung was not aware of the Nizam's mind. He said, 'If along with these clothes, belt and turbans of the same colour had been sent, the complete dress would have looked attractive." On hearing these words, the Nizam said, "May God pardon you. That type of dress is not meant for gentlemen; but for showy and newly rich upstarts. They like the type of dress you have described. You have no knowledge of suitable and matching dresses. If the trouser, gown, belt and the turbans are of the same colour a man would surely look like a tree and not like a man. That would not look nice. But if the various dresses like the turban, belt etc., are of different colour and design the beauty and smartness of the entire dress is increased." Nasir Jung remained silent. He felt irritated. Afterwards the Nizam took off a necklace from his neck and gave it to Nasir Jung as a gift. He then gave leave of departure to Nasir Jung. After respectful salutation, Nasir Jung returned to his quarters.

No. 32 page 135.

After a period of two to three months had elapsed the Nizam ordered Nasir Jung to present himself at the court before the formal *Darbar* took place. Accordingly, Nasir Jung came to the audience. The Nizam transacted the office work and looked into the complaints and representations of interested parties. He then turned his attention to Nasir Jung. The Nizam happened to look into the papers relating to a horse dealer who had brought the horse for purchase. The horse was of a good breed but some defects were found in him. The horse was sent out and no deal

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was done. Nasir Jung liked the colour and breed of the horse. He instructed that the horse be brought inside a second time. He was loud in the praise of the horse. The Nizam remained silent. He did not speak a single word to Nasir Jung. He concluded the audience and without saying a word gave leave of departure to Nasir Jung. On returning to his harem the Nizam complained bitterly about Nasir Jung. The next day it so happened that Nasir Jung was sent to the fort of Kandhar for detention. The inmates and attendents of the harem requested pardon for the faults of Nasir Jung in various ways. It was then that Nasir Jung was sent to Hyderabad and the Nizam returned to Aurangabad for the purpose of camping there.

No. 33 page 136.

One day during the course of the march an obstruction was caused by a stream which lay on the path. The Nizam stopped his elephant. With great difficulty they found means to remove bullock carts, camel carts and other equipment. Accordingly, with the orders of the Nizam, the labourers cleaned the road leading to the stream and beyond. At this time an old woman who was riding an old and exhausted bullock crossed the stream with great difficulty and approaching the Nizam's elephant said to him, "May I be thy sacrifice! By the grace of God you have reached an old age. Hand over the affairs of administration, campaign and other matters to one of your able sons and enjoy your days in comfort and peace in your capital". The Nizam spoke directly to her. He said, "You yourself have grown old. Why don't you partake of the free kitchen service (langar) and stay either at Hyderabad or Aurangabad." She replied, "Right from the beginning, that is, when the army marched from Muradabad Sambhal I have been in the army and have been earning my bread with my work. My selfrespect does not allow me to depend on the charity of others". The Nizam fixed an allowance of Rs. 10 from his establishment. The Nizam ordered, "See that the old lady reaches the camp, situated three Kos away, slowly". The Nizam himself marched towards the camp. Khwaja Najmuddin Khan was at that time in personal attendence of the Nizam. The Nizam said to him, "This old lady will with great pleasure and happiness describe her conversation with me to her own people. I pray to God that the happiness of the old woman may contributed to my happiness. Khwaja Najmuddin Khan said,

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"Amen! Amen!". This anecdote was related to me by the Khan himself.

No. 34 page 137.

In the year when the Nizam marched across the river Krishna, some prisoners, men, women and children from the villages were brought in. The next day the officer of the fort reported the matter. The prisoners were provided with one palla of roasted gram and one quarter of a palla of *gur* (raw sugar). The officer awaited the orders of the Nizam. At that time the widow of Murshid Quli Khan the Governor of Bengal, known as Bengali Begum had arrived and was staying as a guest in the Nizam's harem. The Nizam had fixed an allowance on her. She represented through her agent Laldi to the Nizam. "Among these prisoners there are a few girls who deserve to be brought up for training. If you so order I will select a few of them and hand them over to attendants." The Nizam said, "This is a region of enemies and hence place of war (Darul Harabh). There is no objection to accede to your request. One or two children could be taken up but not more." Accordingly from the group, four girls were handed over to attendants in the custody of Bengali Begum. Two young boys, according to the orders of the Nizam were handed over to Abdul Rahim, the officer in charge of medical establishment. They were given the names of Masud and Allahdad and were attached to the medical establishment for the purpose of training. The family of these two boys is settled in Hyderabad and are known as personal servants (Chela) of the Nizam. Masud rose to be the superintendent of the royal kicthen. He was given a mansab, the title of Khan and a Jagir. The younger Allahadad also received a mansab and the title of Khan. The disposal of grass lands from Hyderabad was farmed out to him. Both of them died two or three years ago. Their children are holding positions held by the two brothers.

No. 35 page 138.

The Pirzada Sayyad Hussain was the oldest and most venerable among the Sayyads. He was more than a hundred years old. He came to see the Nizam. The Nizam said, "By your blessing a child has been born in my family to-day. You kindly consult the copy of the Holy Quran and suggest the name of the Child." The Nizam handed over the copy of the Quran himself

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to the venerable, man. The Pirzada invoked blessings of the Almighty on the Nizam, prayed for the long life of the child and consulted the holy book. He said, "I notice the letter Ain as prominent in the page which I have consulted. I suggest the name Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur for the child." The Nizam said, "Good! Good! But the name is very common and innumerable persons have this name. If I can attach a part of my name to it, it would be very good." The Nizam then said, "I consider the name Nizam—Ali Khan Bahadur as the proper one for the child." The Pirzada said, "Wonderful! Wonderful!" "Congratulation once again." He once again prayed for the long life of the child. The Nizam signed an order sanctioning a daily allowance to the Pirzada and gave him leave for departure. This happened on the 3rd of the month of Mohurrum, 1149 Hejira. At the time of departure, the Nizam said to Sayyad Hussain, "God willing we will meet again." When Sayyad Hussain took leave the Nizam made an offering of Rs. 500 and gave him leave to depart.

No. 36 page 137.

A Moghul belonging to Bukhara appeared in the court. He made a present of *Maswak* (powder meant to embellish the teeth). The officer in attendance knowing full well that the Nizam had no teeth wanted to prevent the Moghul from presenting the *Maswak*. The Nizam made enquiry and said, "Do not prevent him. He thinks that I will live to the age of 120 and I will grow teeth afresh in which case I will be able to use the powder." The Nizam stretched his hands and took the *Maswak* from him. He put the powder near him and gave a gift of Rs. 500 to the Moghul.

No. 37 page 140.

When the Nizam returned from Delhi after the havoc caused by Nadir Shah he said to Ziyauddin Hussain Khan, the religious head of the army as follows, "Mir Ahmad Nasir Jung has ruined my treasury. To persons who were to draw Rs. 100 from me I can give only two rupees so that the treasure could be built up once again." Although the Nizam expressed this wish, yet, when it came to passing the orders of allowances he signed the order continuing the allowances as before. There was no reduction whatsoever. The Nizam did not depart even a hair's breadth from his good work. One day speaking to the few select officers in the chamber the Nizam spontaneously recited the following

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couplet—"If I give one rupee to somebody it turns into two. This is the miracle which my purse possesses."

No. 38 page 133.

The Nizam ordered Ziyauddin Hussain Khan, the Sadr, "Go to the place into the tent where the princes are studying and enquire into the progress of their studies. Give suitable instructions to the teachers." This was done for two weeks. Then the Nizam ordered Muhammad Anwar Khan, "You also supervise their studies as has been done so far." The Nizam often used to remark, "They are boys. They should study. God is their guide." The details of the teachers are as follows:

(1) For the studies of Mir Muhammad Khan Bahadur Salabat Jung the teacher was Hafiz Abdurrahim. His salary was Rs. 4 per month.

(2) Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asad Jung. The teachers were: (1) Shaikh Muhammad Jamil Rs. 35 per month. He was to teach Arabic. (2) Shaikh Muhammad Jafar Hyderabadi. He used to receive Rs. 9 per month. He used to teach hand writing. (3) Khushal Beg—used to teach Turkish.

(3) Mir Muhammad Sharifkhan Bahadur Basalat Jung. His teacher was Shaikh Muhammad Ali. He used to get Rs. 9 per month. Muhammad Jafar and Khushal Beg used to teach hand writing and Turkish respectively. (the courses of study and the period within which they were taught have been noted in the anecdote).

No. 39 page 142.

At the time of the campaign of Trichinapally, Nawab Firoz Jung Bahadur who was in Delhi sent a letter in which he informed that Muhammad Shah Badshah was full of complaints against Nizam-ul-Mulk. On reading the letter the Nizam's mood changed. He burst out as follows, "He (emperor) is not satisfied that I have contented myself with only one corner of the country and am exerting to remove the calamities occurring there (capital) from this place. I fear God. I tremble at the thought of His anger. Yet I am a man. I am not faithless. I have been trained in the discipline of emperor Alamgir. I exercise all the necessary

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restraint and observe all the formalities. I am an exile (from Delhi) and am subject to the machinations of crooked persons. I am trying to ignore them. God forbid if something happens to me, I do not find anyone in the service of his Majesty who will tackle the affair. The Marathas have moved from this place and are spread there. There is none to check them. They have spread destruction to the very gates of Delhi. There is no one there to take revenge upon them. These very Marathas have been defeated here. They tremble and are afraid of destruction at my hands. They have no courage to disobey me. They know that in case of disobedience they will receive due punishment from me. God forbid that I speak a lie in this matter."

No. 40 page 142.

The accounts of the royal kitchen were placed before the Nizam. He remarked, "I notice that two pice (Fulus) have been put down as the price for the strings attached to the package of condiments. It is better that this price should be added to that of the price of strings in the case of all other packages tied with string." He crossed the item of two pice in that place.

It was at the same time that the Khansaman, the officer of the establishment brought to the notice of the Nizam the following fact. "The bundle of shawls costing about Rs. 20,000 has been ruined due to white ants". The Nizam was leaving for Delhi at that time. This incident of the shawls was not brought to the notice of the Khansaman by the custodians of the shawls and hence no orders could be obtained from the Nizam. After seeing the report the Nizam remarked, "Warn the persons concerned to be careful in future". The attendant submitted to the Nizam, "That while the Nizam gave strict instructions in the case of two pice he did not take similar steps in the case of shawls." The Nizam said, "This is as it should be. One is forgetting one's duties and another is inserting wrong items. Both cannot be treated on the same level".

No. 41 page 143.

Fidwi Khan was the Diwan of the Deccan. He had the habit of recommending the interests of mansabdars, in cases where grants of jagirs were involved, with great emphasis. The Nizam remarked, "Such exaggeration defeats its very purpose and cannot be

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appreciated." Fidwi Khan got excited. He said, "People have their own interests. For that there are various ways of achieving their interests. What the King takes before he grants any request is known by the name of *Pesh kash* (tribute). If the minister takes something, people call it Nazar. If the Khansaman (officer in charge of establishment) receives something they call it *Dastur*. And if secretaries receive something they call it *Shukrana* (thanks offering). It the clerks receive something, they call it *Taherir*. If a mufti receives something they call it *Meharana*. If an officer receives something, they call it *Garina*. If the mounted guards receive something, the amount is called *Sazawalana*, and if Fidwi Khan gets something, it is called by the name of *bribe*." Having said this, he prepared a charge sheet and placing all the papers before the Nizam he took his leave and returned to his quarters.

The very next day he started on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had hardly reached the port of Surat, when he died. When the Nizam heard of the death of Fidwi Khan, he remarked, "I have heard that men with their eyes intact tend to fall into the pit while blind men (because of the care they take) escape falling into the pit".

No. 42 page 144.

The Nizam ordered, "Whenever any person dies and a report has to be made it should be done in the words,—that such and such a person has obtained perfect health. People carrying the bier should not be allowed to come to the drawing room and admitted to the audience." This practice was followed.

No. 43 page 144.

The Nizam remarked, "Poor people exert themselves in good work. It is a part of their life. They have only one suit of clothes, that is, a turban, a trouser, gown and belt, which they can use on festival days. About such good natured but poor people the common world possesses a low opinion saying that these people have no means of subsistence, and are contemptible and dull-witted."

No. 44 page 144.

It was a day of March. The Nizam saw from a distance that a bullock cart belonging to the females of the harem was standing stationary in the middle of the plain and was not moving at all.

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He ordered Nur Mahamad, the attendant waving the peacock plume—"Find out why the bullock cart standing in the plain is stationary and not moving. If it is broken and the inmates do not have other carts, secure other bullock cart from those passing on the roads. You then convey the inmates of the cart to the camp. Afterwards you yourself should see that the bullock cart thus secured is restored to its owner." This was done accordingly.

No. 45 page 145.

One day Sayyad Lashkar Khan, Bakshi of the crown lands, submitted papers relating to an increase in the cavalry to the Nizam when he was holding court. The Nizam ascertained that the horsemen were to be freshly recruited. He said, "Who has authorised this fresh recruitment? It is the duty of the Bakshi not to go by the notes submitted by the clerks and make improper requests." Sayyad Lashkar Khan became nervour and trembled so violently that his sword and shield clashed against each other and produced noise. He tried his best to remain steady and see that the weapons did not create noise but it was of no use, and the noise did not lessen. The Nizam dismissed the court. He then gave orders for the posting of household troops as follows, "Abul Khair Khan Bahadur should make an inspection of the household troops, 2,000 cavalry should be posted to Aurangabad and 2,000 to Hyderabad. From the troops of Abul Khair Khan 500 be posted to Burhanpur, 200 troops of the contingent of Mir Muktada Khan were to be posted at Muhamadabad Bidar where Namdar Khan was the magistrate. The Nizam ordered that the troops should be sent to their destination soon. There was to be no delay. Sayyad Salah Khan was to proceed with his contingent to Ganjikota. But this latter order was rescinded and Sayyad Salah Khan was allowed to remain in the camp of the Nizam.

No. 46 page 145.

Mir Muhammad Azim was the officer incharge of the army when it was on march. His duty was to make arrangements for the next stage of the march. He was a man, tall and hefty. During the last 50 years that this author (Mansaram) had contacts with him, he always saw him ever dressed and ready for work. Never once did he see his belt removed. Nor was he ever reported to be sick even for a day. He was not very educated. He knew Persian. As he was tall and hefty he had chosen for his riding

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a horse which was equally strong, in fact stronger than any other horse. It was always kept saddled and ready. Muhammad Azim was on terms of great cordiality with me (author). He was also very popular. At the time of march he used to start when 4 gadhis were left for daybreak. He used to ride till the midnight of the following day. Without taking rest he used to march upto 30 Kos.

One day he received orders to have a long march. He was instructed to find a place where water was available. After traversing ⅔ of the distance he was to fix tents and make arrangements for lunch. The rear guard (Chandawal) of the army which was in reality a part of the main troops was to move from that place. Those, who were left, and the tents were entrusted to his custody. Two bullock carts and four bullocks were left to provide for the conveyance of the men from the establishment (Khan Samani). The cavalry escort were however to precede Muhammad Azim. Instructions were given that all care should be taken not to harass the peasantry. This was followed always and reports were submitted to the Nizam every evening.

No. 47 page 146.

One day the Nizam speaking to the noblemen in his chamber said, "I remember events from the age of three. At this age I have put the mark of moon on the standards of my army. My name was Qamruddin, (the moon of religion). Although the mark on the standard represented the moon, yet the people thought that it represented a round piece of bread. It was said that the four pieces of bread were the blessings of different persons. One of these persons was Shah Inayat Mujhtaba. The green cloth which he gave was supposed to represent the green vegetable. This has been continuing from the time of my grandfather the late Abid Khan and my father Gazziuddin Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung. This legend (of the representation of a bread) is wrong. It is however common. However, God's grace is on me and my children.

No. 48 page 147.

One day a certain incident from the harem was reported to the Nizam. As a result, he became very angry. Nobody could say what the incident was. The Nizam gave sudden orders to the guards. The marriage of one Khwaja Yusuf Khan had been fixed. He was in the house of Muzaffar Khan Khwajasara. This house was situated in the locality of Junabazar in Aurangabad.

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The Nizam ordered the guard to arrest him, to bring him out of the house and to take him across the river Narbada in the limits of Hindustan and leave him there. This was accordingly done.

No. 49 page 148.

From the news-letters of Aurangabad it came to the notice of the Nizam that Karimuddin Khan, the Qazi of Aurangabad was not attending to his duties. The Nizam wrote a letter to the Qazi, 'Why are you adopting this attitude and what is the reason for not attending to your duties." The Qazi was a respectable and distinguished man. He wrote in reply, "At this place the deputy governor Mutawassil Khan is completely under the influence of Maulavi Muhammad Safa the Qazi of Zarvi Pombri. He has handed over the cases handled by me to him for disposal. The result is that the cases belonging to this city have been turned upside down. I feel a sense of frustration. For this reason I am not attending to my duties." Immediately on receipt of this letter the Nizam wrote an order to Mutawassil Khan. "If you act against the instructions of Qazi Karimuddin Khan the result will not be good. Who is this Muhammad Safa? Send him to the court." Mutawassil Khan was degraded and Muhammad Safa ran away and disappeared.

No. 49, page 148.

One day the Nizam remarked to Mir Muhammad Hussain Khan, the Diwan of the Deccan in open court, "I had ordered that notes from the office of the Sadarat (religious establishment) be submitted to your office, so that they could be put up before me. Why has there been a delay in this matter. You are in the hands of your subordinate clerks. If there is a delay hence-for-ward, the result will not be good. The clerks of the office of Sadarat are such that, were the clerks and writers of the office of the Diwan, to strive for 100 years, they would not equal the clerks of the Sadarat. You better go through the files of the Sadarat first. Study carefully and see what is written in them. Pay as much attention to the files as one would the works of the famous caligraphist Mir Ali. The clerks of the office are always in the habit of writing without having any heart in their work. Their notes are redundant. This is all due to your carelessness. Or else this would not have happened.

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No. 51 page 149.

Ibrahim Ali Khan belonging to the community of Nawaits was the Governor of the Fort of Elgandal and the Fauzdar of that region. In sending the revenue of that place he used to make excuses. He used to write in flowery language about his activities but he would not send the revenue. Inwardly he had a crooked nature but his representations were put in a different light. He had not made repairs to the fort. Yet he made a report that he had spent lakhs of rupees. The Nizam passed orders on his representation and signing it himself handed the orders to his secretary Musawi Khan. Musawi Khan had been instrumental in the rise of Ibrahim Ali Khan Nawait. The Nizam said to him, "These are the dismissal orders of Ibrahim Ali Khan. You put them in the envelop carrying your letters to Ibrahim Ali Khan".

No. 52 page 149.

The Nizam ordered Fatehuddin Ali Khan, the Daroga of the Diwan Khana. "Khwaja Ibadulla Khan, the *amil* (officer) of Chicacole and Raj Mahendri, has not sent the revenue of his region to the court. He takes advantage of the fact that his father Khwaja Abdulla is in the court. It is necessary to send strict *sazawalan* (enforcement officer) to him. You find out which of the sazawals are noted for their strictness." Fatehuddin Ali Khan replied instantly, "Asad Beg, the sazawal, is originally a Kashmiri but is included among the Moghuls. There is also the head of the Chopdars. There are none who are worse than these fellows. These tyrants are uncontrollable. The whole army is witness to the high handedness of these fellows and is loud in its lamentations against them. They will not allow a moment's rest to Khwaja Ibadulla Khan, until he provides for the amount." The Nizam approved of the proposal.

No. 53 page 150.

After the conquest of Trichinapally and the expulsion of Murari Rao Maratha therefrom, the custody of the fort and the governance of Karnatak and Arcot, together with the *diwani* of that province was entrusted to Khwaja Abdulla Khan. He was given the title of Muhammad Abdulla Khan. A robe of honour was conferred upon him. He was instructed as follows, "You give consideration to persons, who were attached to late Sadatulla

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Khan (Governor of Karnatak). Sadatulla Khan was a man of understanding. The grants which he made should be considered as having been made by you." Next day it was decided to march from that place. In the night however Muhammad Abdulla Khan died suddenly (of excess of joy). The Nizam had to camp there. The camp followers of the army who were in charge of baggage and equipment and had been reduced to great straits due to the difficulties of the siege and scarcity of the grain prevailing, had joyfully marched away. Next day camel riders brought all of them back. Accordingly they returned and camped. Anwaruddin Khan Bahadur got audience of the Nizam in his chamber. The Nizam referred to the sudden death of Abdulla Khan and said, "Who should be appointed to this post?" Anwaruddin Khan immediately replied, "I have thought of a person for this post". The Nizam asked, "Speak". Anwaruddin Khan said, "It is this insignificant man Anwaruddin Khan." The Nizam smiled and gave him the order of appointment and a robe of honour. He then marched from that place and reaching Aurangabad camped there.

No. 54 page 150.

While marching towards Hindustan the Nizam was at Burhanpur when people arrived from Ajmer carrying gifts (Tabarruk) form the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. The Nizam remarked, "Fifty years ago I had received similar gifts (Tabarruk) from the shrine. I had given an order for rupees 500 to be paid in the name of the custodian of the shrine. I had also given Rs. 50 to the attendants of the shrine who had come to me. They were four persons at that time. They had brought various gifts like turbans, umbrellas etc. One among those four was a young man. It is possible that he may be among you people, and must have reached an old age." The old man among the attendants who had come from Ajmer said, "fortyfive years ago I had come to you. I am the last of the four who had come". He was given 30 rupees as a reward.

No. 55 page 151.

During the time of Aurangzeb (Khuld Makan), Zalfiqarkhan was nominated to lead the campaign of Jinji. Zulfiqarkhan was the rival of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Zulfiqarkhan marched during the night. Nizam-ul-Mulk's contingent lay on the way. Zulfiqar-

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khan desired to come upon the contingent of Nizam-ul-Mulk and create an incident and then march away. The Nizam received news of the crafty design of Zulfiqarkhan through his messengers. He, therefore, moved his camp and traversing a distance of 30 Kos left the path of Zulfiqarkhan and arrived at the Imperial camp. The Nizam's coffee bearer was left behind. Through his foolishness he got mixed up in the baggage followers of Zulfiqarkhan. The next day he found out that the Nizam's army had already gone away to a distance of 20 Kos. Because he felt guilty he accompanied the army of Zulfiqarkhan to Aroct. After a long time he fell into difficulty and turned *fakir*. One day he came to the Nizam along with other supplicants in the robes of a *fakir*. The Nizam's eyes fell upon him. He recognised the man. The man pleaded ignorance in the begining but later confessed (to his being in the service of the Nizam). The Nizam said, "If you want to join your old post of a coffee bearer you can remain here or else you may go wherever you like." The man did not receive anything.

No. 56 page 152.

The Nizam ordered, "The vakils of many notable chiefs arrive at the camp individually. Many of them are put to great distress. It is better if all these remain together. A locality be assigned to them. It should be known as the vakilpura. It would be convenient for the vakils to stay there." Devidas was a vakil on bhalf of Sadatulla Khan and the Afghans of Kadappa and Karnool. He was a rich man and had elephants for his conveyance. He used to maintain a free kitchen in his camp and feed the poor. The vakils of other chiefs started settling near the camp of Devidas.

No. 57 page 152.

Hakim Muhammad Ali Khan was a man of low disposition. He had however a cheerful personality. He had occasion to treat the Nizam in his illness and had thus gained an influence over him. He had been entrusted with the work of supervision and checking of the accounts of various establishments. One day the case of dismissal of Shobharam, the Peshkar of the Diwani, who had in his greed, taken Rs. 8,000 in the case of Peshkash, came up. Muhammad Ali Khan submitted the file to the Nizam (in support of Shobharam). The Nizam got annoyed and said, "Do not interfere in the work of administration. If you do so the result will

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not be good". From that day he removed him from the section handling the Peshkash. Orders were issued accordingly to all the officers. The Hakim was discredited. People turned away from him. He then joined Nasir Jung. He indulged in activities, the results of which became apparent. God will not forgive him.

No. 58 page 153.

When the Nizam was in his campaign of Trichonapally, Gulam Imam Hussain Khan Nawait, was sent by the Governor of Pondicherry to the Nizam. He bore gifts and various products of the French post. He also brought mangoes. He met the Nizam and placed the gifts before him. The Nizam ordered that mangoes be distributed among the nobles. He asked Gulam Imam Hussain Khan, "What does the Governor Want?" He replied, "As your highness has arrived in this district the Governor felt it a great honour for him in sending the presents to you. He has no purpose. He desires some land for the construction of a garden. It may kindly be granted". The Nizam said, "God forbid! To give quarter to this fire in my land will be like digging the foundations of my kingdom. Write to him that this will not take place. I will not accept any gift from him excepting the mangoes. Return the gifts." Gulam Imam Hussain Khan, through various representations begged pardon. After a thousand entreaties the Nizam accepted the gifts. The envoy desired to depart. He was given leave of departure from Trichonapally. He was generous and used to talk pleasantly to people.

No. 59 page 153.

It was the month of Ramzan. Ibadullah from among the Chopdars used to perform the duties of an intelligence officer from a long time. His work was to report secretly on the activities of the nobles in the army. The Nizam instructed him to move about in the night in the camp and bring the news. He brought the report. "I went to every post about the palace. People were not present. Those who appear stay for a short time and go away. They do not return early". The Nizam said, "You go and bring a report to me. I will wait here until you return." He departed accordingly and soon brought a detailed report about the activities of the nobles. The Nizam was waiting for him for a period of one *prahar*. Ibadullah said, "People were engaged in praying in their

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places with rosaries in their hands." Next day in the court, the Nizam rewarded with Mansab, titles and land all those who were engaged in prayers. He passed over those people who were engaged in witnessing dances, songs and other frolics. They were not however put to loss of the status and emoluments which they held.

No. 60 page 154.

The Nizam said to the Bakshi (the paymaster general) Muhatasham Khan, "the news-writers in the Deccan do not send the news reports week by week and important news promptly. What should be done about it. The news have to be received promptly. It is better to appoint a Sawanah Khwan—(reporter). A proper man should be appointed to this post. This work has been at a standstill since a long time." One Gulam Rasul Khan, a convert to Islam had the proper qualification. He was appointed to the post of the Sawanah Khwan through the good offices of Muhatasham Khan, the Bakshi.

No. 61 page 154.

There was a Darvesh who lived near Bijapur. Keeping in view the consideration which the Nizam had shown to him while he was the governor of Bijapur, the Darvesh came with his sons to see the Nizam. The Nizam asked, "How many children have you. How far have they received their religious education". He replied, "God has given me five sons. I have brought two of them with me. The elder three sons are engaged in wordly affairs. I have not given them any religious education. There were difficulties. It required full 30 years to get full education in theology and then to get service they have to approach through the intercession of the Sadr (head of the religious establishment). Even then they do not receive a pay of more than 20 rupees. They do not have prospects of promotion either. Each one of the three sons is in the contingent of Abul Khair Khan Bahadur. One earns Rs. 120 per month, the second son get Rs. 90 per month. The third is skilled in archery. He gets Rs. 150 per month. They all work well and look after their dependents. They serve both religion and world through their work." The Nizam gave Rs. 700 to the Darvesh and Rs. 400 to each of the two sons.

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No. 62 page 155.

The Nizam said, "The emperor Mahammad Shah out of his grace and kindness bestowed on me a precious dagger. I paid my respects, went in the presence of the emperor and stood there. I took the dagger given by him and holding it behind my shoulder handed it to my servant. Later I enquired from the servant and found out that he had not received the dagger. It was somebody else who had taken the dagger (when I held it behind me). I returned to my residence. When I opened my belt I found that half of the belt which was of costly material was gone. Somebody had cut it. The thieves of the court of the emperor used to indulge in such thefts every day. One is at his wits end to describe the adroitness with which these thefts were committed."

The Nizam also said, "a certain person had purchased 200 camels and had sent them out of Delhi by the main gate. The camels disappeared in the city of Delhi. The owner of the camels tried his best to trace the camels but it was of no use." The Nizam related another incident which was as follows. The thieves had with them five rupees and two gold coins in cash. They had secured them from the court. They took the amount to the Sais (the groom looking after a horse) of a nobleman. The Sais was holding the horse worth Rs. 2,000. The thieves told the groom, "Your master has been appointed to a post in Lahore. He has asked for the purchase of sweetmeats, bring the sweetmeats soon." Having said this they held his horse. The groom hurried away to purchase sweetmeats. The thieves mounted the horse and disappeared. A search was made for them. Where were they to be found? The groom brought the sweetmeats but could not find the horse. In distress he began to throw dust on his head. His master was also stunned with surprise.

No. 63 page 156.

Fatehuddin Ali Khan was the Daroga (Superintendent) of the Diwankhana (court premises). Owing to the office which he held he had become proud and self willed. There was one person named Sayyad Hafizulla Ahamadabadi. Fatehuddin Ali Khan used to play chess with them. Fatehuddin Ali Khan drew up a representation containing the request of Hafizulla for the sanction of a daily allowance from the Aurangabad treasury. He wrote the

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representation with his own hands and asked his brother Ziauddin Hussain Khan who was holding the post of the Sadr (head of the religious department) to submit the representation along with the other papers to the Nizam. The Sadr (Ziauddin Hussain Khan) protested that it was against the procedure and the representation should have been drawn up in his office and signed by him. Fatehuddin Ali Khan did not agree to this and said that the representation should be placed before the Nizam along with the other papers. When the papers were placed before the Nizam he remarked, "This paper has not been written by Ziauddin Hussain Khan. It is not proper that it should be written by his brother." Ziauddin Hussain Khan said, "I am sorry, it is a lapse on my part." At the mention of the word lapse the Nizam got irritated. He said to Muhatasham Khan, "What is the meaning of this?" The Nizam threw away the papers and dismissed the court. For two months he refused to sign the papers submitted from the office of the Sadr. I (author) spoke to Muhatasham Khan and said, "Whatever fault has been committed has been done by Fatehuddin Ali Khan, but applicants and needy persons are suffering as the work has come to a standstill." This was conveyed by Muhatasham Khan to the Nizam. He succeeded in getting the work started again, that is, of looking into the requests and representations of *Fakirs* and other persons.

No. 64 page 157.

It was a holiday. The Nizam gave orders that the files pertaining to those who had any claims be submitted to him. They were placed before him according to procedure. He examined them. The claimants departed after giving thanks. The place was a chamber of private audience. There was a white carpet spread on the ground. A snake measuring three yards was found underneath the carpet. It was hissing violently and was not able to find a way out. The attendants saw the snake but were unable to strike it with stick for fear of the carpet being spoiled. The Nizam stood up. I had socks on my feet. Without hesitation I reached the place and striking the snake with my feet I made it motionless. The Nizam said, "Well done! Well done!" Afterwards the attendants removed the carpet from above the snake and destroyed it with their sticks. The Nizam then entered his private apartment. Lal Devisal told me that the Nizam was all

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praise about my qualities of head and heart. The Nizam remarked, So I was told. "Among the writers I see in him a person fully acquainted with the etiquette of the court of Alamgir. In the question of getting the Zizia levied on the Hindus excused, his grandfather strove very hard through my grandfather Abidkan. All the Hindus owe gratitude in the case of the exemption of Zizia to the grandfather of this person (grandfather of Lala Mansaram). The emperor was pleased and made him the agent through whom the tributes and peshkash from Zamindars were to be deposited with Abidkhan."

No. 65 page 158.

One day the Nizam was holding court. After the prayers, he ordered the representations of parties to be submitted to him. I (author) took the persons to the court, sorted out their applications and after preparing their cases handed them over to the officer for representations (Arzbegi). After the Nizam had gone through the papers and heard the parties, he said to Tahawur Khan who was, according to orders, present near the Nizam, "This person (meaning myself—the author Mansaram) is a very sensible person. He goes carefully through the applications of the *fakirs* and submits them with full sympathy. He serves the *fakirs* well. He explains at length the requests of the *fakirs*. He has the needs of the people always in view. Verily by doing this he is providing for life after death. He is a good penman. I notice good qualities in this person. Service of the needy and doing of virtuous deeds is in his nature. I consider this as a God given gift, given to men of gentle birth. If such people are called as servants of saints it would be a proper thing." Tahawur Khan spoke similar words and said, "Men who are virtuous and pray to God deserve these words."

No. 66 page 159.

When the Nizam was marching towards Sonda Bidnur, the chief of the Jagirdars of Bankapur, Abdul Majid Khan who was an Afghan, came to the camp of the Nizam. Till now he was like a horse which had not tasted the reins. He was also indifferent to the court etiquettes. He suddenly appeared in the camp of the Nizam at a distance of two arrow flights from the centre of the army. The Harkaras (messengers) brought the news that

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Abdul Majid was joining the army. His advanced tents had arrived. Khan-I-Alam and other Deccani Officers of the Nizam, moved from their position on the left wing and came near the Nizam on the right side. They got down from their horses. They fully understood that the Afghans were not to be trusted. They hold naked swords in their hands and removed the Afghans from proximity to the Nizam's army and sent them out. The Nizam stopped his elephant and watched the scene. He was pleased at the gallantry shown by the Deccanies. He issued orders to Moghuls who were archers, to march three Kos in advance of Chandrasen. Chandrasen was in the advanced guard of the army. He was to march 3 Kos in advance.

The Afghans requested that they should be allowed to remain in the army at a distance of 3 Kos. The request was not granted. For 2 months the Afghans were not granted interview. Afterwards when Devidas, the Vakil of Sadatullah Khan made a request, the interview took place. The order of the composition of the army was, however not changed.

No. 67 page 160.

One day the Nizam said, "the emperor Muhammad Shah called me one day for the Friday prayers at the Jame-Masjid earlier than the usual time. As he sent men, one after the other, I had to hurry up without dressing fully. I had no socks on my feet. It was the summer season. The heat of Northern India is terrible. The emperor held my hand at the door of the Jame-Masjid and started talking to me. His majesty had socks on his feet. The courtyard of the mosque consists of stone slabs. There is some distance from the courtyard to the steps of the building of the mosque. The whole quadrangle was burning like heated iron. I had no socks. I was holding my garments with one hand. My other hand was held by the emperor. The emperor had socks on his feet. Still his feet were burning. In this condition I accompanied him across the quadrangle. I understood that it was the house of God (mosque). If the emperor wanted to inflict this injury on me there was no alternative. I consoled myself with the thought that the master wanted to test his servant. It should be borne silently. To enquire about the where and why of the test would not be proper." Two or three days after these events the emperor remarked to his courtiers, "In the Jame-Masid I had

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socks on my feet. I was moving in intense heat, how can I describe my condition; more than that, the condition of Asafjah (Nizam) was beyond belief. He had no socks on his feet. God only knows how he must have fared. By showing his capacity to sacrifice his life, he attained his eminence in the court of Khuld Makan, (Aurangazeb). He was also very much liked by the emperor. The other noblemen are proud of themselves. They have learnt nothing except eating and sleeping.

No. 68 page 161.

The Nizam said, "Every man bestows alms on needy people and distributes charities. He should do this with his own hands as he would thereby acquire great merit. (Sawab) God Almighty says to his angels, "When a man distributes charities, 70 angels stand in rows, with respectful attitude and taking the charities convey it to the needy persons." The angels offer their thanks. They pray to God that he should bestow sumptuous wealth on the virtuous persons. To these prayers of the angels the other angels say Amen! Amen! "Verily charity is a wonderful thing as the merit accruing from it is granted by God immediately." The Nizam further remarked, "There was a person who was destined to die through the bite of a serpent. He had two breads with him. A beggar approached him. The person bestowed the bread on the beggar. The serpent emerged from under the garments of the man and said to him, "I am a serpent (pythen—Ajdaha). It was ordained by God that I should bite and kill you. You have bestowed a charity of two breads on a needy person. This virtuous deed has been acceptable to God. The angels of God have under the orders of Almighty stopped me from killing you, saying that there was no occasion for me, (the serpent) to bite you. On the other hand the Almighty has ordered that your life should be prolonged. "Verily the ways of God are strange. It is the duty of man to turn to his creator."

No. 69 page 162.

When the Nizam was on his journey towards northern India he said to his Diwan Muhammad Anwar Khan, "Who among the secretaries and officers of the office of the Diwan are experienced and well equipped in the work of revenue and civil departments

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of the State. If the superintendents and the secretaries are experienced, the work of the administration does not fall into confusion. See to it that the officers are treated with consideration and are assured security of service. They should in no case be transferred from one post to the other. To do so is to make way for serious confusion in the work of administration." Muhammad Anwar-ullah Khan said, "I will exert myself to the utmost in this matter."

Previous to this Tahawur Khan had brought Mir Abdul Razaq Khan (Shahanawaz Khan), the Diwan of the Province of Berar to the audience of the Nizam. The Nizam said, "Bring him in!" Accordingly Abdul Razaq Khan came in and after saluting the Nizam stood in the chamber. On seeing him the Nizam spoke in a low tone to Tahawur Khan, "In the province of Berar I notice that this man's work is smart and excellent." Abdul Razaq Khan was given the betel leaf indicating leave of departure. After the court was over, Tahawur Khan said to Abdul Razaq Khan, "If you choose to accompany the court you will undoubtedly get the post of Diwan in place of Anwar Khan. At the time of your departure, the Nizam made such and such remarks. He seems to have consideration for you in his mind."

No. 70 page 163.

There was a person named Mast Ali Khan who was deserving of consideration. On the recommendation of the ladies of the harem, the Nizam appointed him as the superintendent of the Harkaras. As this post carried a monthly allowance of 7 to 8 hundred rupees, the person discharged his duties with readiness. One day the Nizam was having coffee. The daily news-sheets were placed by the Daroga (Mast Ali Khan) before the Nizam. The Nizam asked him to read the news-sheets. The officer replied, "I am illiterate." The Nizam was not aware of the illiteracy of the officer. He was stupefied at this information. The next day he transferred him to another post in Aurangabad in such a way that the world would not know of his illiteracy. The Nizam informed the ladies of his harem that Mast Ali Khan was faithless and that he had been transferred to the department of the scrutiny of Morals. He informed that the ladies should not make any recommendation in future pertaining to a post or appointment. From that day representations from the harem ceased.

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No. 71 page 163.

At the time when Nasir Jung was in detention, a barber named Nur Mahammad was deputed to attend on him in place of the old barber. One day Nasir Jung made a gift of 2 Ashrafis to Nur Mahammad. The barber brought those two Ashrafis and placed them in front of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Nizam ordered that the two Ashrafis should be returned to Nasir Jung. He further sent instructions through an attendant to Nasir Jung as follows. "It is folly to give a reward of two Ashrafis to a menial. You do not yet seem to have realised the value of our wealth. You do not turn away from such unpleasant activities, nor do you give up such strange habits, nor do you repent of them. This mistake should not be made again as this will not lead to good results."

In the evening the Nizam sent for Nasir Jung. He gave him suitable instructions. He also made him a present of a pearl necklace. But this had no effect. Nasir Jung did not leave his habits. Every one knows what the result was. He ruined himself and his wealth. The glory of the Nizam's house at present is due solely to the grace of the late Nizam-ul-Mulk. It behoves every ruler of the Deccan to imitate the example of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

No. 72 page 164.

One day when the Nizam was on the march, the curtains of the *Amari* of the special elephant became loose and dangled in front of the Nizam's seat thus obstructing his view. The Nizam said to the driver of the elephant, "If you have a string, better tie these curtains." The driver had the strings (Sutali). He wanted to cut the strings, make them short and tie the curtains. The Nizam said, "Do not cut the strings. Tie the curtains with the strings as they are. After arriving at the camp the strings should be stored away safely. It is not proper to waste the strings (by cutting them)."

No. 73 page 164.

One day the Nizam remarked, "When I was the Governor of Bijapur, I used to go once in a week or two to pay my respects to Hazrat Sayyad Ibrahim Bagdadi" He told me, "You are going to be the ruler of the Deccan. Your enemies will be in the grip of calamities. You will live to the age of 120 years." Whatever he said has been experienced by me but what he said with regard to my age is yet to be experienced.

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No. 74 page 165.

When the court was in session, the paymaster of the Shagird pesha (attendants) submitted the file of the footmen. The register contained in one column, pay to which the footmen were entitled. In front of a certain footman's name the amount of pay which was Rs. 6 per month was wrongly put at Rs. 60. It came to be signed as such by the Nizam. The paymaster submitted that the Nizam had signed the bill of Rs. 60 instead of Rs. 6. The Nizam remarked that a rise in pay was ordained by God for that particular person. He should be enrolled in cavalry and the mistake should be overlooked. The Nizam's orders were carried out. The name of that person was Durga Prasad. This news spread far and wide. The relatives of Durga Prasad who came from their homes were also given employment. This man died a few days ago.

No. 75 page 165.

At the time when, Raja Chandrasen, Rao Rambhaji Nimbalkar, Sultanji Nimbalkar and other Marathas obtained Jagirs, the Nizam called them and spoke to them as follows. "I have given you jagirs. The dues under rules will be credited in the treasury. The rights of Inam holders and other title holders such as those entitled to daily allowances according to prevailing practice, should be protected. They should get all that to which they are entitled. Their complaints should not come to me." They all said that they too were of the same opinion and that excepting the dues to which they were entitled, they would not claim more.

No. 76 page 166.

After the battle, in which Mubarizkhan was killed, was over, the Nizam remarked to his officer as follows. "The distasteful practice of Chauth was started by Hussain Ali Khan. What is good about it?" Everyone spoke in his own way on the bad effects of this practice and expressed his anxiety. The Nizam did not share their anxiety. He said, "I consider all this army as my own and I will get work done through them. It is necessary to take our hands off Malwa. God willing I will enter into an understanding with them and entrust the Mulukgiri on that side of the Narmada to them. I will arrange the other matters in that way. Their armies will not enter in my jurisdiction. If they do not

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agree to these conditions they will receive as a result of my strength, their real punishment."

No. 77 page 166.

(A) At the time of the campaign of Trichonapally Khwaja Abdulla Khan submitted the representation of the Diwan of the Government, Khuda Banda Khan (grandson of the famous Shayista Khan). The representation was as follows. "With the allowance of Rs. 400 per month I am not able to maintain four camels for baggage purposes. It is said that men of the establishment of Diwani, who number more than 200, maintain each of them four or five camels for baggage purposes. What might be my feeling that I be the diwan of the State and not be able to maintain 4 camels for baggage purpose." The Nizam remarked "I did not know that Khuda Banda Khan was devoid of intelligence to this extent.

How can the men of Diwani establishment maintain so many camels. He should be in a better position to know, as these men receive hardly Rs. 7 per month. What does he mean in demanding money from the Government for maintaining his baggage camels. It shows that he had no capacity for work."

(B) The Nizam addressed Muhammad Hussain Khan to present himself at the palace gate. When he arrived, the Nizam came out of the palace. His eyes fell on the illuminations, arranged by the superintendent of the palace. The Nizam asked the superintendent. "Wherefore have you arranged these illuminations?" The Nazar wanted to give a reply, but the Nizam continued, "It is not the practice to arrange for illuminations. Whenever I visit the palace, torch bearers accompany me. This expenditure on your part is highly irregular." Muhammad Hussain Khan felt that this remark was directed against him. The Nizam gave instructions to the Nazir not to repeat this mistake. He also gave suitable instructions to Muhammad Hussain Khan saying, "Your honesty is well known. You will receive further advancement." This anecdote was related by Muhammad Hussain himself.

No. 78 page 168.

It was the month of Ramzan. Based on a misunderstanding about the new-moon, Qazi Karimuddin Khan of Aurangabad believed in the statement of two person from the fort of Daulatabad and

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fixed the day for the celebrations of Id. Nasir Jung came with Nazar offering to the Nizam. The Qazi had announced the advent of the Id, with a tomtom. This news was conveyed to the Nizam. This was enquired into. The advent of the new-moon could not be ascertained, except on the evidence of the two persons referred to. These two witnesses were called. They complained that the Qazi had suddenly called them and asked them. "Where have you seen Chand (moon)?" There is a man known to us whose name is Chandbhai. We had met him sometime before. We thought that the Qazi was referring to the person Chandbhai. We said that we had seen Chand." The enquiries of Qazi Karimuddin were always of this nature. On hearing of this the Nizam got angry and said, "The Qazi would receive due punishment from God."

No. 79 page 168.

Tahawurkhan Bahadur Khweshgi was a trusted attendant of the Nizam. One day he left the Nizam and came out to have a wash. The Nizam instructed his box bearer, Maqbul in low tone to find out where Tahawurkhan went after leaving the drawing room and what he did. Maqbul brought the information that Tahawurkhan spread a saddle cover in front of the private apartment and had puffs of the hucca. After Tahawurkhan returned, the Nizam said as follows, "Tahawurkhan Bahadur, I am very much worried as to how smokers would fare in the heaven as there is no fire in heaven." They will have to go to hell. Tahawurkhan who was witty and knew the nature of Nizam-ul-Mulk, spoke as follows. "The smokers need not worry at all. As a stove will be brought to the heaven to prepare coffee for your highness, the smokers can easily get their needs satisfied from the fire of that stove." The Nizam smiled. He continued his gracious beheviour to the Khan in increasing measure.

No. 80 page 169.

Khwaja Najmuddin Khan was a respectable person. He was of an advanced age and had great influence with the Nizam. He was brought up in the traditions of Aurangzeb. In view of his age the Nizam used to keep him near. He had appointed him as the Bakshi of the attendants. One day the Nizam said to him "Tell me some news about the army." He said, "All persons in the army are busy praying for you and are pleased with their positions. If only two things were absent from the army it will

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be a veritable paradise." The Nizam asked, "What are those two things and which one is more important than the other?" He said, "One is indulging in food when there is no hunger and the other is the necessity of going to relieve oneself. Both these things are equally important." The Nizam smiled. Those present in the essembly also could not restrain their smiles and held handkerchiefs to their mouths.

No. 81 page 169.

One day the merchant Bhuchar Mal brought a dress prepared from a white cloth. The Nizam said, "What type of cloth is this?" He replied, "This is known as the Broach cloth. It is 9 yards long and 1¼ broad." Although the price was Rs. 9 the merchant out of respect said that it was Rs. 7. The Nizam said, "The cloth is good and the price is economical too. I would like to purchase cloth worth Rs. 10,000 and issue a draft in the name of Tag Beg Khan—the agent in charge of port in Surat." Bhucharmal saw that this might not be possible (He was not sure that the amount would be realised). He said, "I have a plan but I do not know whether it would be approved." The Nizam said, "Speak". He said, "If a representation is sent to the Emperor to bestow two *Mahals*, Cambay and Broach as *Tenakha* jagirs it would be good." The Nizam said, "Well, Well." He ordered his secretary Ramsingh to draft a representation. Afterwards the camel-rider took the representation to the emperor. After a period of two months, the necessary documents bestowing the two Mahals were received from the court. The executive officer of those two-places was appointed as nominated by Bhucharmal. Bhucharmal established his business firm at Broach.

No. 82 page 170.

One day the Nizam remarked to his officer in his chamber, "The emperor Mahammad Shah out of his grace and kindness gave me a cup of coffee with his own hands. He then ordered me to describe the taste of the coffee. It was not the etiquette to drink coffee in the prescence of the emperor. I knew that the emperor wanted to test me. I went forward slowly and standing with great composure took the coffee. I described the taste of the coffee at great length all the while pretending that I had tasted it. People in the court were surprised. I said to myself, "If I had not received the training in etiquettes in the court of Alamgir, how

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would I have fared to-day." And how would the emperor have tested me to-day.

A similar incident occurred once again. I was bed ridden with boils. (Bhagendra) I could not move. The emperor sent word that he had some important subject to discuss and that I should see him. I made many excuses but they were not accepted. The emperor sent word that he would come to a mosque near my place of residence. Finding no other alternative I went to the mosque. The emperor ordered, "Be seated." I submitted, "May I not be guilty of departure from the proper etiquette." The emperor said, "This is the house of God. Every thing can be excused here." Finding no other alternative I sat down, in a respectful position. The emperor said, "Come near." I moved nearer. The emperor gave his instructions to me in a low tone. The meeting then ended. The emperor gave me leave of departure from that place. I paid my respects and returned. After I had recovered from my illness, I went to the court and offered my *Nazars.* The emperor bestowed upon me a pearl neckless; a tiara, an elephant and a select horse with all the equipment as also a sword and dagger.

No. 83 page 171.

While disturbances broke out in Gujarat, Fakhruddowlah came to ruin. As a result, Kabir Muhammad Khan arrived at the port of Surat. From there he came to the camp of the Nizam and wanted to enter his service. The Nizam signed the order sanctioning an allowance of Rs. 60 per month to him. The Diwan, keeping in view the status of the person and the relation he bore to the Nizam's wife, submitted that the allowance was small and his self-respect would not bear to accept it. The Nizam said, "Let him go away from this place soon. I have become the ruler of the Deccan. I cannot combat the reverses in Northern India. The care and welfare of my people are important to me. Even this care and welfare cannot be achieved completely. Still I am trying my best. Were I not to do so, where would these people go. If they go anywhere, the people of those places will say that the ruler of the Deccan was indifferent to them and was not capable of maintaining them. As he was not able to look after them, those people will say, they have come over from the Deccan. Do not make such improper requests."

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No. 84 page 172.

During the period when the Nizam was at war with Mubariz-khan, the son of Amin Khan Dakhani who was called by the name of Babasahib became cross with his father and separating himself from Amin Khan and beating drums reached the camp of the Nizam. He waited on the Nizam through the good offices of Muhammad Riyaz Khan and sought service. The Nizam remarked, "His father is a colleague of Mubariz Khan. How can I trust this man?" Babasahib (Amin Khan's son) heard from a distance what the Nizam said. He replied immediately, "May I be thy sacrifice. I consider the claims of having eaten your salt as more important than the claims of others. If I get an opportunity on the day of the battle, I will cut the head of my father and bring it to you. The Nizam appointed him on Rs. 100 salary alongwith an allowance of Rs. 50 per horseman maintained by him. On the day of the battle Babasahib cut the head of his father and brought it to the Nizam saying, "This is what I had promised." The Khan received the jagir of Balconda and also exemption from service. He used to send 200 horsemen at the Nizam's camp whenever it was on march. His children are living at present.

No. 85 page 173.

Sayyad Ahmad, who was an officer of the attendants, submitted, "It has been learnt through the knowledge of supernatural that the evil wishers (May dust be in their mouths) of your highness have prepared the representation of a human being and having made use of witch-craft buried the idol beneath the bedstead at a place directly beneath your pillow. Orders may be passed to remove that idol." The Nizam issued the orders accordingly. The labourers dug beneath the bedstead of the Nizam in his bedroom in the Naukhanda palace. They brought forth the idol of a man. It had thousands of needles struck into it. The Nizam ordered that it should be burned and reduced to ashes and scattered. This was done accordingly. Sayyad Ahmad made inquiries to find out the perpetrator of these deeds. It was found out that one person and 2 women were involved in it. The Nizam remarked, "He who digs a pit for others, himself falls into it." The Nizam made no further comments.

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No. 86 page 177.

It was reported from the office of the minister that there was a defalcation through forged bills of Rs. 5,000 from the treasury of Aurangabad. The amount related to the pay of the cavalry. Certain alleged culprits were produced by the officers. The Nizam ordered the persons concerned to be produced before him. As the persons appeared, the Nizam spotted a person and said, "If he were to confess to his deeds without any fear he would be pardoned. Nay! he would be shown great consideration. He should however promise not to repeat such acts future." The man however did not confess.

No. 87 page 174.

A representation from Sultanji Nimbalkar, the jagirdar of Pathri was received. He had requested that Qazi Ruknuddin, Qazi of Pathri should be replaced by Fazlulla, the hereditary Kazi of that Pargana. The Nizam ordered, "Write to the Jagirdar. Why does he want to replace that innocent Qazi?" The Sadar (officer for religious affairs) said, "It has been proved that Qazi Ruknuddin is a Shia." The Nizam said, "You are speaking as if you are Sultanji himself. Since you are speaking thus in this case, I am helpless. The entire responsibility rests upon you."

No. 89 page 174

It is said that the Nizam ordered Rs. 50,000 to be taken out of the treasury. This amount constituted the dowry of Bibi Begum. He handed over the amount to the Begum and said, "You make preparation to start. You may go wherever you like. I am relieved of all the claims that you had upon me."

No. 90 page 174

On the day of the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Nasir Jung came to the drawing room in the morning. The attendants of Nizam-ul-Mulk were in extreme sorrow. Every one of them was throwing dust on his head and was crying. Nasir Jung spoke words of comfort to them, and made arrangements for the burial of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He spoke to the nobles as follows, "Your ruler (the Nawab) has died a natural death." He took all of them with him to the place where the Nizam's body lay. The dress of the Nizam was removed away from the body excepting the trousers. He showed

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that there were no wounds caused by arrow, bullet or sword. After sometime the moment arrived when the body was to be washed. The finger nails of hands and feet had turned blue. Dark spots indicating the administration of poison were apparent all over the body. Whoever did that deed experienced the results of the same.

No. 91 page 175

During times of scarcity the Nizam gave orders for an expenditure of Rs. 4 lakhs to be borne on the treasury of Aurangabad for distribution among the needy and indigent. Orders were issued to the Kotwal (Commissioner of Police) "It should be found out how much grain the merchants have stored? The enquiry should be done secretly. Nor should the merchants be molested." This was done accordingly and the report was submitted. The Nizam considered the matter and fixed the price of the grain per palla at *chehedam*. Immediately on hearing of these orders all the merchants brought forth their stores of grain and started selling the stocks without any pressure. Heaps of grains could be found every where. In no case was any fine laid upon them nor was any pressure exercised. Every variety of grain sufficient to last for Aurangabad and contonment for four years was to be found in the bazars and lanes. Grain became cheap, and scarcity departed. It so happened that from the following week rain started. Thus with a small foresight troubles were removed. The Nizam then cancelled the orders fixing the price of grain made previously.

No. 92 page 175

Speaking about the officers of the army and religious dignitaries the late Khwaja Najmuddin Khan one day said, "All these officers and religious dignitaries are endowed with a sense of justice and do their work in a just and upright manner. This is all proper. But devotion to one's duty and the sense of justice which is shown by two persons is not to be found anywhere." The Nizam asked, "Who are they and what do they do?" He said, "One is the scavanger in the army. He is very just. He regulates the queues of the people who go to relieve themselves. He attends on the person who comes first. He regulates the queues accordingly. He does not pay any heed even if people shout and express their discontent. The second class of persons are Dheds. If they are

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entrusted with the carrying of any luggage as beggar they carry the articles safely to the house of the person concerned. They do not meddle with the articles in any way." The Nizam smiled. Others present in the court could not restrain their laughter. They applied their handkerchiefs to their mouths.

No. 93 page 176.

One day a man appeared in the treasury with Rs. 35 which according to him was the return of a loan taken from the treasury. The Mushraf (accountant) was called for. An enquiry was made from the person. "With what transaction is this small amount connected. If an explanation were to be given, this amount should be credited to the treasury." The Diwan of the Suba was one Mir Mahammad Said Burhanpuri. The bill for this amount had not been signed by him. How could then, it was asked, the amount be credited to the treasury.

The person said, "One day death overtook me. The angels of death took my life away and bore me to the Almighty God. At that place Siddi Amber, the Abyssinian, came to me and demanded the return of loan taken from him by me. I was helpless as I had nothing with me to return his amount. The Almighty God ordered, "Give this amount of Rs. 35 from the treasury of Asafzah as a loan. After returning to Aurangabad this man will credit the amount in the treasury. Bind the eyes of this man and take him back to Aurangabad. There is a man with the same name who lives near this man's house. Bring him to me." This was done accordingly. I woke up. I saw that arrangements were being made for the funeral of the man who lived near my house. I have brought the amount of the loan to be credited in the treasury. When this matter was reported to the Nizam he offered a prayer of thanks to the God Almighty. On that day the Nizam sanctioned a sum of Rs. 80,000 out of the land revenue collected for distribution to the needy.

No. 94 page 177

While camping at Trichonapally the news writer from Khandesh reported as follows, "At the foot of the fort of Mulher, more than 200 Jamadars (minor officers of the army) had gathered. They harboured inwardly the design of taking the fort. The Governor

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of the fort had no inkling of this." The Nizam ordered that a letter be written to Muhammad Aman Khan the Governor of the fort of Mulher as follows, "Your negligence has reached this stage. The Jamadars are waiting for an opportunity to seize control and have gathered at the foot of the hills. Any time in the morning or evening the calamity is about to fall on you and you have no knowledge about it. You should awake from your slumber and take action against them, so that their group is broken. Otherwise the result of the affair will not be good. In future you should take proper steps and be alert in guarding the fort. If not, the anger of the heavens will descend upon you."

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Ardhanarisvara in Mediaeval Sculpture

BY

K. S. RAMACHANDRAN

AND

C. KRISHNAMURTHY

Ardhanārīśvara, like *Harihara,* is an attempt to emphasise the harmony between *Śiva* and *Śakti.* The active and passive forces have been personified in the composite image of *Ardhanārīśvara* bringing out the fact that one is complimentary to the other in the cosmic evolution. Here we shall consider a few such images of mediaeval times.

There is a group of caves at Badami assignable to the latter half of the 6th century A.D. The lowest one is excavated on the west end of the hill and is known as the '*Śivālaya*'. In this cave at the right end of the verandah there is an Ardhanārīśvara panel, the principal figure in it being surrounded by attendant deities and celestial beings. Conforming to the canons of iconography the right half of it is represented by *Śiva* while the left by *Umā.* The figure has four arms, two on the male side and two on the female side. *Śiva,* has his *Jaṭāmakuṭa* adorned with crescent moon and the skull, has in his upper hand a battle axe with a snake entwining it. His ear is adorned with a snake ear-ring and he has a snake amulet in his lower arm. A single bracelet is seen in each of his hands—one is *Sarpavalaya* while the other is *akshavalaya.* A beautiful necklace adorns his neck and the figure wears a *Yajñopavīta.* The figure is clad in a loin cloth of tiger skin. The right leg is bent a little so as to raise the ample hips of *Pārvatī.* An instrument which looks like a lute is held by the lower hand of *Śiva* and by the corresponding one of *Pārvatī.* The dress of *Pārvatī* is seen upto her ankle, with tassels hanging down from her *Kaṭisūtra.* An anklet adorns her leg. Several bracelets are seen in her hands. Her ear-ring is a *patra kuṇḍala.* Hairdo is in the *karaṇa makuṭa* style with a knot of jewelled ornaments running across it. There is a *prabhā maṇḍala* over the whole figure. A female attendant,

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her hair dressed in the *dhammilla* fashion and bedecked with jewellery is seen by the side of *Pārvatī*. She has something in her left hand as an offering to the deity. The emaciated *Bhringī* is standing with one leg crossed, in a suppliant attitude with *añjali hasta*. *Nandi*, the bull, is seen at the back of the figure. Flying celestial figures are seen at the top corners of the panel. This panel depicts the story narrated in the *Matsyapurāṇa*.[1] The artistic value of the Badami reliefs has been best expressed by Sri S. K. Saraswati as follows:

"The heavy and monumental body exposing a vital energy that extends over and encompasses the entire composition imparts to the Badami reliefs an import and significance that are hardly to be expected in the Sārnāth ideal. The live rock bursts forth as it were under the impress of a super-human energy and aboriginal vitality.

Such a dynamic outburst so incompatible with the notion of Gupta classicism as expressed at Sārnāth, belongs to a tradition that is essentially autochthonous in manner as well as in character".[2]

Like the Chālūkyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, their political successors, also were great excavators of cave temples and sculptural art was at its peak during their period. The caves in Elephanta are an enexhaustible repertoire of their artistic achievements. The panel of *Ardhanārīśvara* in the main cave at Elephanta is very interesting. Here also as in Badami, the main figure, which incidentally is 16′9″ tall has four arms, two on each side. The *Jaṭāmakuṭa* of *Śiva* is adorned with a crescent moon while *Pārvatī* has an appropriate head gear with a few locks of curly hair hanging down on her shoulder. There is not many ornaments. *Nakara-*

1. Once the *riṣis* in *Kallas* circumambulated *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* but sage *Bhringī*, as he could not conceive a greater God than *Śiva* did not pay obeisance to *Pārvatī*. Enraged *Pārvatī* administered a curse that he be reduced to skeleton but *Śiva* counter acted this curse by bestowing a third leg to Bhringī. The perturbed *Pārvati* performed penance and shared *Śiva's* body so as to make *Bhringī* circumabulate her also. But sage *Bhringī* pierced a hole through the body of the composite God assuming the form of a beetle and performed *pradakshinā* to *Śiva* alone. *Pārvatī* admiring the steadfastness of the devotee of her lord showered blessings upon him.

2. S. K. Saraswati: *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*; p. 147.

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kuṇḍala adorns the ear of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* wears a *patra kuṇḍala*. The right upper hand of *Śiva* which is unfortunately mutilated perhaps held a *sarpa*. The lower arm resting on the head of a bull is adorned with *akshavalaya* (bracelet). There is an armlet in each of the arms. The hands of *Pārvatī* are adorned with bracelets and armlets. The upper arm holds delicately a mirror while the lower one is left to hang loosely and gracefully. It is interesting to note the queer absence of the *Yajñopavīta*. The great God is surrounded by many divine and semidivine beings. On the right we see a male attendant with a unique headress holding some thing in his hand. Above him is seen *Brahmā* sitting on *Padmapīṭha* carried by a row of flying swans. To his left we find *Indra* riding his celestial *Airāvata*. On the side of *Pārvatī* we see a femal chowri bearer. Besides her there is also another lady attendant now mutilated. But the figure must have been gracefully executed. Above are seen *Vishṇu* riding on his vehicle *Garuḍa* and *Varuṇa* on crocodile. On both the sides above these principal witnesses are seen pairs of flying devas. The whole scene looks as though the entire *devaloka* has come in post haste to bear witness to a great achievement. The rhythm, movement and the balance emphasised is *par excellence*. The ample and broad pelvis, raised by the posture of the standing *Śiva*, the full blown breast of *Pārvatī* the graceful smile on the lips and the half closed eyes speak highly of the artistic perfection attained. The achievements of the *Rāshṭrakūṭas* in the realm of plastic art and architecture can best be summed up in the following words of Dr. Ray. "A simple and highly generalised modelling of the volume gives to them power and dignity unsurpassed. In concentrated and latent power and energy, in sublimated consciousness of dynamic movement, in monumental poise and grandeur, in elemental dimension and its power and balance of composition, the Elephanta reliefs are the last word in rock cut sculptures of Deccan. The last limit of perfection is reached and nothing remains to be explored."[3] With the *Rāshṭrakūṭas* ended the large scale excavation of huge rock cut cave temples and massive sculptures. With them we may say, practically ended the idea of representing puranic stories in panels of sculptures. We now enter the phase of individual sculptures.

3. N. R. Ray: *The History and Culture of the Indian People — The Classical Age*, pp. 530-53.

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Rajasthan

A fine sculpture of *Ardhanārīśvara* comes from Abaneri. Originally in a niche outside the main temple, the *Harsha mātā* temple, it is now lying in the palace gardens. The image has four hands two on the right and two on the left. The head dress of *Śiva* is *Jaṭābhāra* while *Pārvatī* has a jewelled crest. In the upper hand of Śiva is held a *sarpaveshṭita triśūla* while in the lower is a lotus flower. In between the thumb and the forefinger encircling the palm is an *akṣhamāla*. A single bracelet adorns each wrist. *Śiva* is clad in tiger skin. *Śankhapatra kuṇḍala* adorns the ear of *Pārvatī*. She holds delicately in her upper hand a rectangular mirror while the other is placed gracefully on the hips. She has amulet and bracelet in each of the wrists. We find a *muktāhāra* with a central pendant adjusted to sway to the female side only besides another necklace. Two attendants—male and female one on each side—one with some offering and the other with *chauri* can be seen. The ever present *vāhana* of *Śiva, Nandi,* is also found behind. The figure is slightly mutilated. The pilasters are flanked on either sides by *Gajavyālas, Aśvavyālas* and *Makaravyālas* one above the other. The image can be assigned to the middle of the 7th century A.D.

Central India

An image of *Ardhanārīśvara* from Khajuraho may be cited as an example of the sculptural representation in the medieaval times, in Central India. The sitting image of the God (*Sukhā sana*) is indeed a rare specimen. It has four hands and the headress is in the fashion of *jaṭāmakuṭa* with the figure of the descending *Gaṅgā* in it. *Sarpa* and *makra kuṇḍala* adorn the ears of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* respectively. *Śiva* holds a *triśūla* in his upper hand a snake with its spreadout hood is forked in it. The lower hand, in the *Kaṭaka mudrā,* is seen to hold an *akshamālā*. *Śiva* has a bracelet in his upper hand. *Pārvatī* is holding a mirror in her upper hand while the lower one is resting on one of the three vessels by her side. Bracelets and *keyūra* adorn her hands. The figure has arched eye brows and a smiling face. Several necklaces beautify the image. It has also three eyes. Curiously there is no *yajñopavīta*.

Eastern India

Sculptural representations of *Ardhanārīśvara* are very rarely found in the eastern part of Bangal. One example, however,

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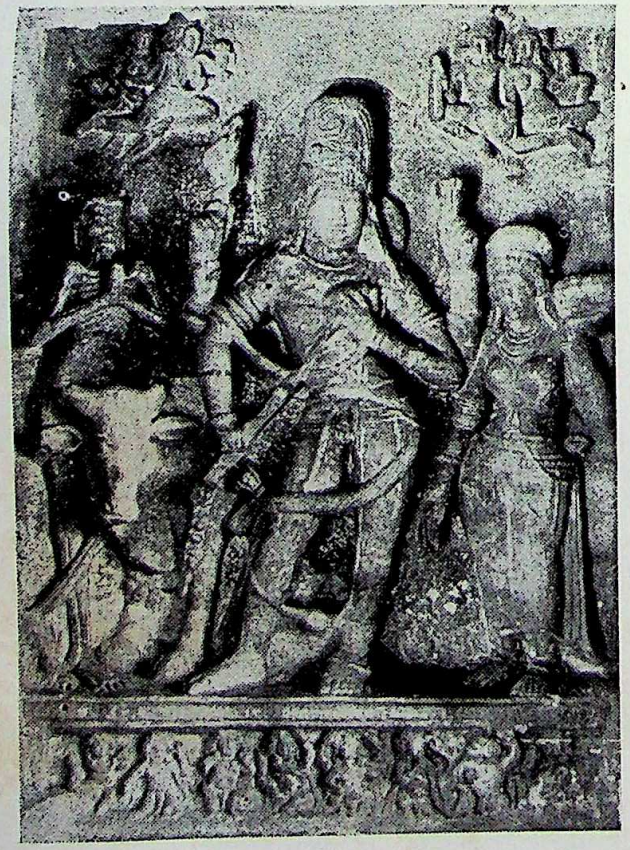

FIG. 1. Badami: Panel of Ardhanārīśvara

FIG. 2. Elephanta: Panel of Ardhanārīśvara

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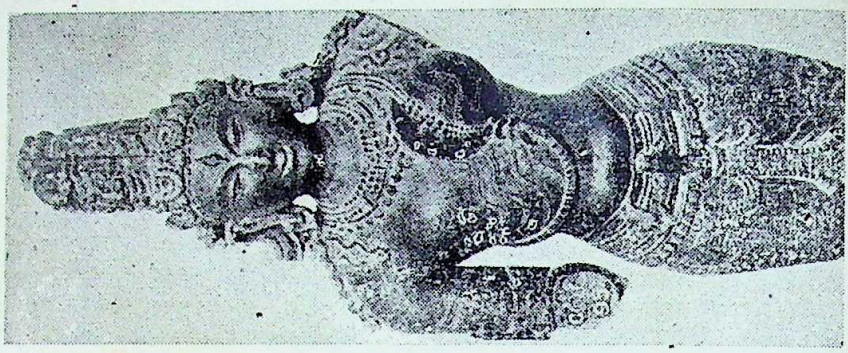

FIG. 5. Purapara (East Bengal): Ardhanārīśvara

FIG. 4. Khajuraho: Ardhanārīśvara

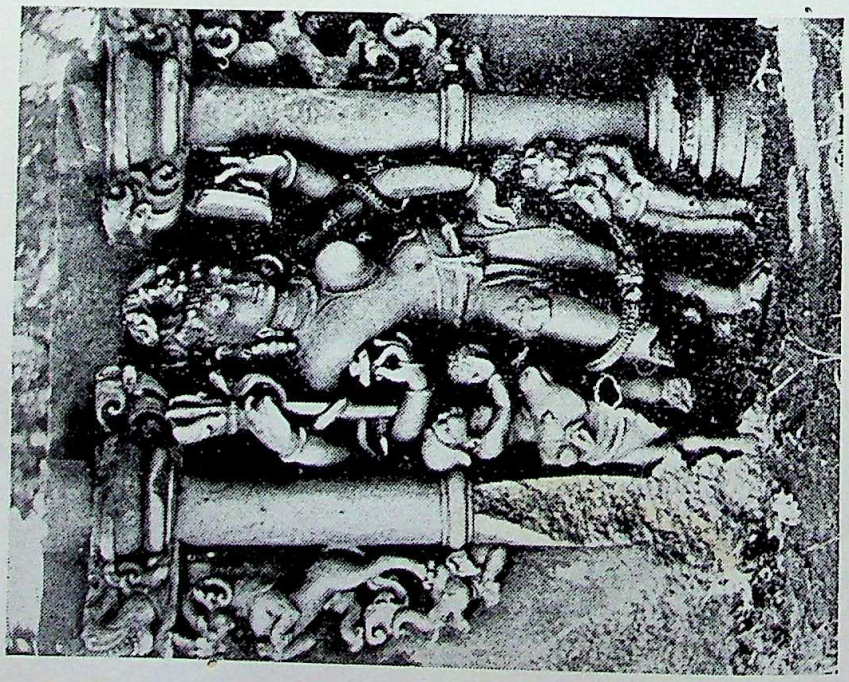

FIG. 3. Jaipur (Rājasthan): Ardhanārīśvara

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comes from Purapara. This was found in a temple tank known as Tamkuṇḍa near the ruins of the big temple at Purapara. At present this in the Rajshahi Museum. Unfortunately this image is also mutilated. The two hands of the figure, one from the elbow while the right from the shoulder and both the legs from below the major portion of the thighs are missing. The two halves are well sculptured in accordance with the sex they represent. The headdress on the right is *jaṭamakuta* while on the left we find *karaṇḍa makuta*. The image has three eyes. In the right ear we find *Sarpa kuṇḍala* while in the left is seen a *śankhapatra kuṇḍala* resembling a pinion wheel. The figure is bedecked with jewels and ornaments. A *keyūra* is seen on the right hand. Half of the *yajñopavīta* is vastra *yajñopavīta* and the other half on the female side is that of pearl.

The garment indicated by wavy lines covers the full blown breast of *Pārvatī*. Like all other images the male side is clad well high up the knee while *Pārvatī's* garment is shown by several wavy lines up to the ankles. The garment is tied with *kaṭisūtra* and we find a *mekhalā* also. *Śiva* is shown in *Urdhava retas*. The droop in the shoulder, dip near the waist and the ample pelvis of the female heightens the beauty. With all this the figure is highly stylised and follows the canons of iconography to the letter. It is ascribable to the late Pāla and early Sena period.

Conclusions

As we advance in time from the classical to early and late mediaeval ages we see that there is a gradual tendency to replace the fully rounded and modelled form of the classical times by a flat surface treatment and linear angles. Although the regional spirit dominated and the climax of artistic achievement reached in each region was not simultaneously yet the basic factor remained the same in that the art (sculpture) exhibited a mechanical grace with its high technical perfection. Further the sculpture followed the canons and *dhyānaślokas* in the making of the image to its very letter—even to the extent of portraying the private parts of the composite deity which the early mediaeval Deccani and South Indian sculptors had omitted out of consideration of decency.[4]

4. The Photographs illustrating this article have been obtained through the courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

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Sir Louis Mallet's Mission to Lord Northbrook on the Question of the Cotton Duties

BY

DR. LALIT GUJRAL

When Lord Northbrook assumed the Viceroyalty of India in 1872, the import duties on cotton piece-goods and yarns were 5 and 3½ per cent respectively.[1] Early in 1874, he received a memorial from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce against these duties. It was stated that Indian mill-owners proposed to import long-staple cotton from America or Egypt—on which there was no duty—to manufacture the finer qualities of cloth as well. This would enable them to compete with the English fine cloth on which duty was levied. A protected trade in cotton manufactures was consequently springing up in India. The duties, in addition, increased the cost of clothing to the Indian masses. Therefore, the memorialists prayed that, in the interests of the Indian consumer and in justice to the English manufacturer, the import duty on cotton goods be removed.[2] While forwarding the memorial, Lord Salisbury, the new Secretary of State, remarked that it should receive the careful attention of the Government of India, and that the cotton duties should be remitted whenever the state of Indian finances allowed.[3]

After having considered the Manchester Memorial, Northbrook informed Salisbury that though their tariff had been carefully revised in 1869 yet they might convene a committee of revision in the next cold season.[4] Accordingly, in November 1874, the Government of India appointed a committee to look into the whole

1. Dutt, R. C.—*The Economic History of India*, Vol. II (1960), p. 301.
2. Memorial of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Jan. 31, 1874. Indian Financial proceedings, No. 24, of Jan. 1875.
3. Secretary of State to Governor-General, Mar. 26, 1874. Separate revenue, No. 2, Ind. Fin. Procs. No. 23, of Jan. 1875.
4. G. G. to S. S. May 15, 1874. Customs, No. 10. Ind. Fin. Procs. No. 25, of Jan. 1875.

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question. Alonzo Money[5] was appointed its president. The committee[6] were informed that representations had been made to the Government, of the injurious effect of the cotton duties upon English manufactures. They were requested to enquire into the facts, and report their opinion. At the same time the committee were advised to "observe that the Government of India does not impose or maintain customs duties for the purpose of affording protection to any branch or class of industry, but for revenue purposes only".[7]

The committee submitted their report on February 27, 1875. The demand of Manchester for a total abolition of the cotton duties was found not to be justified. They pointed out that the Indian mills manufactured coarse cloth only. Despite many disadvantages, India possessed certain natural capabilities for producing goods of low quality which would probably secure for her the trade in them, even if the duty were removed. But the English goods imported into India consisted almost exclusively of finer varieties in which they had to face practically no competition. The total duty paid on English goods of the coarse variety during 1873-74 was Rs. 4 lakhs, and that on the finer cloths was Rs. 77 lakhs. The demand that because one class of goods represented by 4 lakhs of duty in all India, had in one part of India—Bombay—to meet a local competition, the Government should remit the remaining 77 lakhs which competition did not effect, appeared to the committee quite unreasonable. Therefore, they thought that "it is unnecessary even to inquire whether the finances could afford the remission."[8]

5. Member of the Revenue Board, Lower Provinces.

6. Other Members of the Committee were:
   J. R. Bullen Smith, R. A. Dalyell, Members, Legislative Council of India.
   T. C. Hope, Commissioner of Customs & Opium, Bombay.
   T. B. Lane, Collector of Customs, Calcutta.
   J. B. Murray, Chairman, Bengal Chamber of Commerce.
   J. D. Maclean, Secretary to the Committee.

7. Resolution, Government of of India, Fin. Department, No. 6703, Nov. 25, 1874. Ind. Fin. Procs. No. 32, of Jan. 1875.

8. Report of the Tariff Committee, Feb. 27, 1875. Appendix to Fin. Dept. Procs. of Aug. 1875.

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The Government of India accepted the conclusions of the committee and a Tariff Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council, meeting in Simla, on August 5, 1875, by T. C. Hope.[9] In his speech, he repeated the arguments of the Tariff Committee and said that the only measure then required was the imposition of 5 per cent duty upon raw cotton, not the produce of Continental Asia or Ceylon. He opined that if, in spite of the above precaution, the Indian mill manufacture assumed more important dimensions, the proper course would be not a repeal of the cotton duty but the imposition of an excise duty.[10] After some discussion, the Indian Tariff Bill was passed the same day as Act XVI of 1875.[11]

A few days after the Tariff Act had been passed, Northbrook received an urgent despatch from the Secretary of State. Salisbury wrote that the effect of 5 per cent duty was probably insignificant. But an exaggerated importance had been attached to it by the cotton manufacturers both in England and Bombay. If it were true that this duty was the means of excluding English competition, and thereby raising the price of a necessary of life to the vast mass of Indian consumers, it would be open to economic objections of the gravest kind. Salisbury, however, did not attribute any such effect to it. But, at the same time, he was not insensible to the political evils which arose from it. The gradual transfer of the Indian trade from the English to the Indian manufacturers was bound to be attended with much bitterness of feeling. Therefore, he held that "the entire acceptance of the principle of free trade by England is incompatible with the continuance of an exception apparently so marked."[12] Besides, Salisbury felt that Parliament, when its attention was drawn to the matter, would not allow to exist the only remnant of protection within its direct jurisdiction, especially when it was hostile to English manufacturers. Concluding, he hoped that the above mentioned considerations would commend to Northbrook the policy of removing,

9. Member of the G.G.'s Legislative Council.

10. Abstract of the Procs. of the G. G.'s Legis. Council, for 1875, Vol. XIV, Hope's Speech, pp. 173-183.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

12. S.S. to G.G. July 15, 1875. Sep. Rev. No. 6, Ind. Fin. Procs. No. 19, of Nov. 1875

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at as early a period as the state of Indian finances permitted, "this subject of dangerous contention."[13]

In addition, in another despatch, Salisbury expressed regret that the absence of any considerable surplus presented an obstacle to the accomplishment of reforms which were urgently needed—especially the reduction of the salt duties and the cotton duties. He again emphasised the need to abolish the cotton duties as soon as possible, for he feared lest the conflict between the manufacturing interests of England and India should become a political difficulty.[14]

But before the two above-mentioned despatches reached India, the Tariff Act had been enacted. Northbook informed Salisbury by telegram about this and acquainted him with the provisions of the Tariff Act.[15] Replying telegraphically, Salisbury told Northbrook that some of the provisions of the Act were objectionable. Besides, an explanation was sought from the Viceroy as he had disregarded the Home Government's Legislative Despatch, No. 9, of March 31, 1874.[16] The later despatch had required the Viceroy to refer any proposed bill to the Secretary of State before adopting it.[17]

In their explanation, the Government of India pointed out that in the Home Government's Legislative Despatch of March 1874, the degree of importance which would require a measure to be referred to the Secretary of State before its introduction into the Indian Legislative Council, was left to the judgment of the Viceroy. And in this case, the Viceroy had not considered that the Bill in question should be so referred. Moreover, it had not been the practice on former occasions to refer alterations of customs duties for the consideration of the Home Government, previous to their being introduced and passed in the Legislative Council.[18] Thus, the Government of India had the precedents on their side. In another despatch, Northbrook forwarded a copy of a resolution

13. *Ibid.*
14. S.S. to G.G. July 15, 1875. Fin. No. 364. Parliamentary Papers (House of Commons), 1876, Vol. 56, pp. 626-27.
15. Telegram to S.S. Aug. 5, 1875, *Ibid.*, p. 486.
16. Telegram from S.S. Aug. 7, 1875. *Ibid.*, p. 487.
17. S.S. to G.G. Mar. 31, 1874. Legis. No. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 556.
18. G.G. to S.S. Aug. 16, 1875. Pub. No. 48. *Ibid.*, p. 549.

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passed by them,[19] in which their reasons for the changes of the customs tariff, as introduced by the new Tariff Act, were recorded. They fully admitted the advantage that would be derived by the people from a reduction in the cost of their clothing, but the financial considerations did not admit of so large a sacrifice. In addition, the resolution pointed out that there were other items of customs tariff, which in regard to the general interests of the people of India, demanded prior consideration.[20]

Even before he had seen the explanations of the Indian Government, Salisbury informed Northbrook telegraphically that he could not assent to the new duty on raw cotton, nor to the maintenance of the duty on manufactured cotton at the existing rates. Being sensible of the inconvenience of altering a tariff by correspondence, Salisbury suggested that if Northbrook consented, Sir Louis Mallet, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, should be sent out to India to discuss the whole subject.[21] When this telegram was sent to India, three members of the India Council—Sir Erskine Perry, Sir George Clark, and Sir Henry Montgomery—submitted Minutes of Dissent.[22]

On receipt of this telegram, Northbrook after consulting his Council[23] informed Salisbury that he "heartily concurred in his proposal."[24]

Before Mallet touched the shores of India, Northbrook received a despatch in which Salisbury stated that he was unable to give his approval to those parts of the Tariff Act which applied to the import duties. He had already informed the Government of India that the duty on cotton manufactures should be abolished whenever the Indian finances permitted. "On general principles", the cotton duty was, "liable to objection as impeding the importation of an article of first necessity, and as tending to operate as a protective

19. G.G. to S.S. Aug. 16, 1875. Sep. Rev. No. 15. Ind. Fin. Procs. No. 27, of Aug. 1875.
20. Resolution, Govt. of India, Aug. 12, 1875, No. 2636. Apdx. to Ind. Fin. Procs. for Aug. 1875.
21. Telegram to Viceroy. Sept. 30, 1875. P.P. (H.C.) 1876. Vol. 56, p. 607.
22. For details see *Ibid.*, p. 608.
23. Telegram from Viceroy. Oct. 1, 1875. *Ibid.*, p. 507.
24. Telegram from Viceroy, Oct. 7, 1875, *Ibid.*, p. 507.

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duty in favour of a Native manufacture."[25] It was inconsistent with the policy that Parliament had sanctioned, and which Her Majesty's Government could not set aside without special cause in any part of the Empire under their direct control. At the same time, the large remissions that had been made in the Tariff Act in other import duties, affecting articles of less primary importance, impaired the validity of the plea of financial exigency taken up by the Government of India. Salisbury further asserted that the duty placed the two manufacturing communities in a position not only of competition, but of political hostility to each other. "The impost is too much at variance with the declared policy of this country to be permanently upheld; but if the task of dealing with it be long postponed it will be the subject of controversy between interests far more powerful and embittered than those that are contending over it at the present time."[26] In conclusion, he observed that though the import duty of 5 per cent on raw cotton was intended apparently as a protection to English industry against competition in the finer articles of manufacture yet he was unable to sanction it. For, it appeared to him that the claims of the English manufacturer would be more legitimately met by dealing with the duty on manufactured cotton goods, the speedy removal of which was a matter of serious importance, both to Indian and Imperial interests.[27]

When this despatch was transmitted to India, two members of the India Council—Erskine Perry and Henry Montgomery—recorded minutes of dissent.[28]

Early in February 1876, the Governor General in Council recorded his reasons for the differences with the Home Government on the question of modification of the Indian tariff. To support the stand his Government had taken, Northbrook quoted statistics of the cotton trade in the previous years, and the revenue raised by the duty. In 1874-75, the cotton import duty brought £. 882,712, and if it was to be remitted, the loss could only be made good by

25. S.S. to G.G. Nov. 11, 1875. Legis. No. 51. Manuscript European, E. 218.6. Lytton Papers.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. For details see P.P. (H.C.) 1876. Vol. 56, pp. 603-4.

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additional taxation which he deprecated in the strongest manner. Besides, the element of uncertainty introduced by the depreciation of silver could not be brushed aside lightly. Northbrook concluded, "it is our duty to consider the subject with regard to the interests of India; we do not consider that the removal of the duty upon cotton manufactures is consistent with these interests".[29]

Northbrook next transmitted to the Secretary of State a minute by the Commander-in-Chief and the other members of his Executive Council,[30] on the subject of the conduct of legislative business in India. Among other things, the minute referred to those passages in Salisbury's despatch of November 1875, in which the pressure exerted by certain powerful classes in England was brought directly to bear on the Government of India, and was urged on them "as a motive for conceding what they asked, lest some greater demand should be made at a future time".[31] The protest of the council against this policy was couched in strong language. "We think it our duty to submit our earnest protest against the principle that the taxation of India is to be regulated under pressure from powerful classes in England, whose private interest may not be the interest of India, and with regard to the principle established in England and for England, and without ascertaining by communication with the responsible Government in India the policy or financial bearing of the measure or the views and sentiments of our Indian subjects."[32]

Meanwhile, Mallet had started for India in the autumn of 1875. As regards its main purpose, the mission was a failure, owing to Mallet's illness soon after reaching Calcutta, and to Northbrook's resignation which was announced on January 4, 1876.[33] Lord Lytton's appointment to succeed Northbrook was announced at the same time.[34]

29. G.G. to S.S. Feb. 25, 1876. Sep. Rev. No. 3. Ind. Fin. Procs. No. 24, of Mar. 1876.
30. The Minute was signed by all the Members of the Council—Lord Napier—C.-in-C., H. W. Norman, A. Hobhouse, E. C. Bayley, W. Muir, A. Arbuthnot and A. Clarke.
31. G.G.'s Council to S.S. Mar. 31, 1876. N. 19. Ind. Home (Pub.) Procs. No. 356. Mss. Eur. E. 218.6. L.P.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Mallet, B.—*Sir Louis Mallet*, p. 138.
34. *The Times*, Jan. 4, 1876.

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As Lytton left the shores of England to assume the Governor-Generalship in India, Louis Mallet was on his way back to England. They met at Bologna on March 9, 1876.[35] Earlier, Salisbury had written to Lytton, "Make Mallet tell you all about the 'behind the scenes' at Calcutta."[36]

Lytton learnt that Mallet had sent to Salisbury a full account of his reception by "Northbrook and Co. (which seems much like that of *Chien dans un jeu de quilles*), and of all that passed between the frigidity of his first; and the fever of his last experiences at Calcutta."[37] Lytton thought that he could probably tell Salisbury nothing more than the latter already knew of that "very strange story"[38] from Mallet. Still he would send him "an exact recital of the whole story just as Mallet has told it to me",[39] as soon as he reached Rome or Naples. For, he thought that "there is this advantage in a twice-told tale, that in reading it, you get the same facts reflected from a different point of view."[40] Lytton further gathered from Mallet that Northbrook realised what a blunder he had committed by passing the Tariff Act. Besides, the manner in which the Act was passed, appeared to have been the result of a conspiracy on the part of Northbrook's Council to ignore Salisbury's despatch of March 1874.[41] This was confirmed by Auckland Colvin[42] who informed Owen Burne[43] that the "apparently hot-haste" in which the Tariff Act was "smuggled into existence" at Simla was, in fact, the result of "a perfectly cool and deliberate determination"[44] on the part of the Calcutta Council to take the first opportunity to exhibit their independence, by acting in marked disregard of the rules commended to the Governor General in Council by Salisbury's legislative despatch.

35. Lytton to Salisbury. Mar. 9, 1876. Letters Despatched. Vol. I. L.P.
36. Salisbury to Lytton. Mar. 6, 1876. Letters from the S.S. Vol. I. Letter No. 7. L.P.
37. Lytton to Salisbury. Mar. 9, 1876. Letters Desp. Vol. I. L.P.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. Offg. Secy. to the North-Western Provinces Govt.
43. Private Secretary to Lytton.
44. Lytton to Salisbury. Mar. 12, 1876. Letters Desp. Vol. I. L.P.

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As promised earlier, Lytton sent to Salisbury from Naples, a precis of Mallet's account to him of the latter's interviews with Northbrook on the subject of the Tariff Act and the cotton duties.

Salisbury's last despatch of November 1875—refusing assent to the Tariff Act—had reached Calcutta before Mallet's arrival. Therefore, Northbrook informed Mallet that although he was happy to see him as a personal friend, he could not, under the changed circumstances, enter with Mallet into any discussion on the subject of the latter's mission. He would certainly have refused assent to the mission had the above-named despatch reached him sooner. He had been induced to acquiesce in the mission on the understanding that the tariff question was to be discussed between them as an open question, and not "in reference to an already foregone conclusion on the part of the Secretary of State."[45]

Mallet reminded Northbrook that Salisbury's rejection of the commercial policy of the Tariff Act, had been most distinctly recorded in the telegram which contained the enquiry whether Northbrook would receive Mallet, for the purpose of discussing with him "the *modus*"[46] for making those alterations in the Tariff Act that Salisbury wanted. Lytton understood from Mallet that Northbrook ultimately admitted that the construction put by Mallet upon Northbrook's reply to that telegram, was a reasonable one.[47]

Northbrook then entered into a full explanation of the circumstances and motives of the Tariff Act. He had never regarded Salisbury's objection to the cotton duties as indicative of a serious and settled policy. He believed this objection to have been "extorted from Lord Salisbury by the selfish and unreasonable pressure of a purely local interest."[48] Salisbury had observed in a despatch that he regarded the whole question from a political rather then an economic point of view. In addition, Salisbury had also written in a private letter: "If you can reduce the cotton duties this year, you will greatly please the Manchester people."[49] Northbrook had interpreted these observations as implying that Salisbury

45. Enclosure to letter, Lytton to Salisbury. Mar. 12, 1876. *Ibid.*, D.P.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*

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did not consider the cotton duties at all objectionable on economic grounds, but the exigencies of his political position at home, had obliged him to submit to pressure from Manchester. He also inferred that Salisbury felt this pressure to be more or less unreasonable; from which it seemed to be Northbrook's duty, in the interests of India, to relieve him, by demonstrating the impropriety of it and acting without reference to it, as he had done. In short, Northbrook appeared to have been under the illusion that his Tariff Act would be a very agreeable surprise to Salisbury, who would be grateful to him for "such assistance in resisting the Manchester cry."[50] By imposing import duty on long-staple cotton, he believed that he had deprived that cry of every pretext for objection to the 5 per cent duty on manufactured cottons, and had made his commercial policy "tight all round."[51] Northbrook protested that the repudiation of his action in this matter, by the despatch of November 11, 1875—"to which he alluded with tears in his eyes"[52]—was a great and painful surprise to him. Besides, Northbrook felt sure that if "he could have had ten minutes conversation with Lord Salisbury, he should have been able to convince him that he had acted, not only straightforwardly, but wisely in the matter."[53] He complained that such a despatch as he had received, had never before been addressed to the Government of India, "since Lord Ellenborough's despatch to Lord Canning about the Talookdars, etc."[54]

Mallet informed Northbrook that he was under a dangerous delusion in supposing that the unpopularity in England of the cotton duties was merely local. He assured him that these duties were condemned by every English economist. And if Northbrook had to defend in Parliament his policy of maintaining the duties—regardless of the strong remonstrances that he had received from the India Office—he would find himself without any support. Except perhaps for Lord Halifax and the Duke of Argyll, or one or two personal friends, the whole opinion of the country would be against him. Northbrook was, at first, much surprised by this

50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*

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assertion, and was incredulous of it. But after further conversation with Mallet, it "dawned upon him that the Tariff Act, instead of being a great hit, had been a great blunder."[55] He then professed anxiety to retrace the step he had taken before leaving Calcutta. Finally, Northbrook informed Mallet that he was willing to reduce the cotton duties immediately to 3½ per cent, and also withdraw the duty upon raw cotton. This proposal was, however, coupled with three conditions. First, that for the ensuring year he should be exempted from the obligation to provide a surplus of not less than £ 500,000. Secondly, that he should have permission to borrow in England the sum which the Government of India were allowed to raise upon loan for extraordinary public works. Lastly, that the above-mentioned despatch be either withdrawn or amended as it had put Northbrook and his Council on their defence and demanded a reply which would necessarily be "elaborate and argumentative."[56]

It appeared to Lytton that Mallet was much impressed by Northbrook's proposals, since they went further than any which he himself had been prepared to make. Mallet considered that if these steps were immediately taken, the financial situation bequeathed by Northbrook to his successor would be a comparatively simple and easy one. On the other hand, if Northbrook did nothing to alter that situation, the new Viceroy would have to deal with it, encumbered by an excited and hostile council. Mallet further considered that the necessity of answering Salisbury's despatch of November 1875, would place Northbrook in a position of public antagonism to the India Office, and give rise to a great deal of acrimonious and inconvenient discussion. Northbrook's resignation would be identified by the public with that correspondence; he would return to England with a professed grievance, and as a declared opponent. In view of all these considerations, Mallet was disposed to recommend some such modification of the despatch as might leave to the India Office the last word in a controversy practically terminated by the proposed alterations in the tariff. With regard to other conditions, Mallet thought that the first regarding surplus, was quite reasonable and of no great moment. He also thought that the permission to borrow in

55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*

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England might be accorded on account of the then depreciation in silver. Mallet also informed Lytton that he had pointed out to Northbrook, how greatly the difficulty of withdrawing or modifying the despatch, was increased by the notoriety which had immediately been given to it at Calcutta. But he was sanguine, assuming that the despatch had not yet been published in England. He informed Northbrook that in a telegram to Salisbury he had suggested that the despatch be withdrawn and he hoped that his suggestion would be found worthy of consideration, especially when Salisbury received a detailed explanation which Mallet was about to send. Unfortunately, he was prevented from doing so by an attack of fever.[57]

Salisbury had read Mallet's telegram—suggesting the withdrawal of the despatch—to a meeting of the India Council on January 19, 1876. But the Council were unanimously opposed to the suggestion.[58]

Lytton gathered from Mallet's description of the situation at Calcutta that Northbrook's Council was in a very "hostile and refractory state of mind."[59] He suspected that the Council had been induced to regard itself of late "as the faithful body-guard of an aggrieved Caesar."[60] In his opinion, the scope of the despatch of November 1875 had been somewhat exaggerated and its aim more or less misconstructed by the Council. What had happened about the tariff was "only the acute symptom of a chronic defect in the whole organism of the Indian Government."[61] He meant the habit of ignoring, not only the English, but the European, side of Indian questions; and assuming that "India has no *rapport* with the rest of the universe."[62] Lytton continued that he was pleased that the conditions on which Northbrook's proposal were based had not been accepted by Salisbury. Had Northbrook borrowed money in England, it would have greatly embarrassed Lytton's future budgets, for it would have meant "mortgaging tomorrow

57. *Ibid.*
58. Minutes of the Council of India. Jan. 19, 1876. Vol. 36, p. 46.
59. Enclosure to the letter. *Ibid.* L.P.
60. Lytton to Salisbury. Mar. 12, 1876. *Ibid.* L.P.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*

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for the relief of today."[63] Lytton concluded "and how he (Northbrook) could have expected the withdrawal or modification of a despatch to which he had given such hasty and wide notoriety, is as incomprehensible to me as the belief he expressed to Mallet, after a weekly exchange of private letters for two years that if you and he could have had ten minutes talk together, you would have been perfectly *d'accord* with him on every subject."[64]

After having read both Lytton's and Mallet's accounts of the latter's mission, Salisbury wrote "what you say presents a prospect gloomy enough; but I cannot help hoping that some of the dark colours left in Mallet's memory were due to the shadow of the fever that was hanging over him at the time."[65] He was, at the same time, grieved to learn that Northbrook had felt "keenly and personally wounded"[66] by the despatch of November 11, 1875. He assured Lytton that this was far from the aim with which the despatch was written. Nor could he see anything in the language of the despatch that justified such a feeling. Still, if Mallet had told him that fact in his telegram from Calcutta, he would probably have withdrawn the despatch.[67]

It would be pertinent here to discuss briefly what led to Northbrook's resignation. In its obituary notice, *The Times* asserted that Northbrook's premature resignation was due to his differences with the Home Government on the Afghan question. *The Bengalee* attributed it to his differences with Salisbury on the tariff question.[69] H. H. Dodwell also attributed his resignation to the differences between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, on the Afghan question.[70] But Northbrook's biographer, Bernard Mallet, differs and says "that this (the Afghanistan issue was not the case

63. Enclosure to the above. *Ibid.* L.P.
64. Lytton to Salisbury. Mar. 12, 1876. *Ibid.* L.P.
56. Salisbury to Lytton. Mar. 13, 1876. Letters from S.S. Vol. I. Letter No. 9. L.P.
66. Salisbury to Lytton. Mar. 17, 1876. *Ibid.* Letter No. 10. L.P.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *The Times.* Nov. 16, 1904.
69. *The Bengalee.* Feg. 5, 1876.
70. Dodwell, H. H.—*The Cambridge History of India,* Vol. VI, p. 415. R. C. Dutt in *The Economic History of India,* Vol. II, pp. 305-306, also attributed it to both the Afghan and the tariff questions.

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the letter, as we shall see, in which he placed his resignation in the hands of the Queen, conclusively proves."[71]

On September 12, 1875, Northbrook had written to Salisbury asking him to lay before the Queen his request to be relieved of office in the spring of 1876, as he had satisfied himself that it was his duty to his family to go home at that time unless there was a clear duty to keep him in India for the full term of five years. Salisbury received this announcement with great regret, and asked the Viceroy that the matter be kept a secret for some time. It was on January 4, 1876, that Northbrook's resignation was officially announced.[72]

Writing to Salisbury on January 7, 1876, Northbrook observed, "When I wrote to you last September to say that I wished to be relieved of my office, there were no political question upon which I felt serious anxiety. There are, however, now two questions which cause me much trouble, one is the tariff, the other our policy with Afghanistan."[73] Thus, we find that during September 1875 and January 1876—the time he resigned and the announcement of his resignation—his differences with Salisbury on both the Afghan and the tariff issues had been accentuated.[74] So it is reasonably clear that these two points of difference had nothing to do with his resignation, when it was made in September 1875, for the Afghan issue was only smouldering and the tariff controversy had just then arisen. The resignation was due to personal and private reasons.

The contention that his resignation was solely due to personal and private reasons—"my duty to my family"—is further strengthened by Lord George Hamilton's letter of August 17, 1876. The Under-Secretary of State for India informed Lytton, "I did not know that Miss Baring[75] precipitated Lord Northbrook's departure. His son, I was told, had formed an attachment with a married lady.

71. Mallet, B-*Thomas George, Earl of Northbrook*, p. 107.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

74. Both the offending despatches were sent in Nov. 1875. The tariff despatch is dated Nov. 11 and the frontier despatch, Nov. 19.

75. Lady Emma Baring was Northbrook's daughter.

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The family incidents are probably the cause of the differences now happily settled between the two Governments".[76]

That his resignation was not due to his differences on the tariff question, is further confirmed by the proposals he made to Mallet in Calcutta.

76. Hamilton to Lytton, Aug. 17, 1876. Letters from England. Vol. II. Letter No. 23. L.P.

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A Turkish Mission to Kabul[1]—A Forgotten Chapter of History

BY

D. P. SINGHAL

History has often neglected to record episodes which are later discovered to be of importance. Failure to assess their relative merit may be the outcome of the lack of foresight of historians, which is gradually improved with the knowledge of subsequent events, rehabilitating thereby the incident in question to its rightful place retrospectively. Omission to record the fact of it or to state it in a way as to render it unnoticeable is caused by the wilful act of the men in power by withholding publication of material upon which alone the historian can build his narrative, unless the suppression is deliberate and motivated on the part of the letter. One such omitted event is the Turkish Mission to Kabul of 1877, despatched in the name of the Sultan of Turkey Abdul Hamid II, but really engineered by the local representatives of the British Government in Calcutta and Constantinople, against the expressed wishes of their superiors. Except a very casual reference in one or two contemporary works no mention seems to have been made of the mission in works of history. The mission provided a necessary link in a chain of events and had serious repurcussions on the future of Afghanistan. Further more it unfolds the helplessness of British Cabinet against their designing pro-consults in the East. For reasons which can only be speculated the documents concerning the episode are preserved in a separately bound volume in the British Museum, London. Until 1950, these were not to be inspected without the previous permission of the Secretary of State for India. The present writer hit upon them by chance during the course of his researches, as these documents are deposited in the European Manuscripts Section of the British Museum, where Indian materials, with some known exceptions, are generally

1. See — Add. Mss. No. 39164 in the British Museum, London.

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not located. Perhaps for this reason they have managed to remain in disuse; a scholar of European history has little use for them as the story they reveal has much bearing on Indo-Afghan relations and none on the course of the Russo-Turkish war. It is possible that these documents which constitute the only correspondence between Lytton and Salisbury who were at the time Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India respectively, could be deposited in that section. But what is surprising is that these papers are not duplicated either in Lytton Papers or in Salisbury Papers which are available for public inspection in the Commonwealth Relations Office, London and Christ Church College, Oxford, respectively. Nor are they found, which is most puzzling of all, in the Political and Secret Correspondence between the governments of India and Britain. Why should these documents be detached from their habitual residence almost in toto? In private and official correspondences, casual references to the mission, are found, but actual documents upon which the episode and the scene behind can be reconstructed are obtained elsewhere. Let me here warn against attempts to read too much into this somewhat unexpected arrangement. There may well be a very simple explanation of this, but the non-availability of these documents in places and archives ordinarily expected to possess them, together with the almost complete detachment from official correspondence and the stipulation of secrecy do raise some eyebrows. This indeed is curious, and perhaps needs further investigation. But the net outcome of this so for has been the near anonymity of this mission in historical writings.

The time when this mission was despatched was one of brisk international activity, both military and diplomatic. New patterns of power politics were being formed in Europe and Britain was assuming a new look in politics. After the Napoleonic Wars the British power remained supreme and with minor exceptions, outside any major involvements. But with the rise of Germany as a potential challenger in 1870, British concern for their vast colonial empire grew and they began to erect protective walls around their possessions, through strategic fortifications, and, particularly, diplomatic devices.[2] Of all the colonies, India was the one most valued

2. The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. III. See Chapters 2, 4 and 7.

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and the most menaced. From the side of North Asia there was pressing a giant power, Russia, towards India, constituting grave danger to British interests. In 1873, Russia after an accelerated pace, had occupied Khiva and reduced the original gap of the two expanding empires in Asia from about 6,000 to only 600 miles. The intervening country was rugged and unsurveyed. Unsure of Russian professions of non-interference in British Asian sphere of influence and also of the attitude of the inhabitants of the area, the British became excessively apprehensive of their colonial safety. Afghanistan was the only organised major power which effectively interposed between the two empires, and it became Britain's paramount policy to obtain a commanding influence in that country. The Conservative Cabinet under Disraeli, therefore, sent out Lytton as Viceroy of India in 1876, specifically charged to establish British ascendancy at Kabul.[2a] He was at best permitted to ask the Amir for a snare in sovereignty, but the new Viceroy, who had ideas of his own, began with such arrogance and impatience that it became impossible for the Amir Sher Ali to come to any terms with him without crippling his sovereignty and honour permanently. Even his entreaties denoting fear of incurring his peoples' wrath if he accepted the proposed terms, failed to move Lytton. For he was convinced that the Colonial expansion of both the British and the Russians was a destined 'march of civilization' in the east against the receding barbarism and, sooner or later, the frontiers of British and Russian Asia were certain to become coterminus. It was therefore, for Britain through him to reach Merv first, if possible, or Kabul certainly. Possession of Kabul, in addition, would place Britain in a striking position against Russia. He tried coercive tactics in his attempt to frighten the Amir into submission, but London would not give him freedom to force as, afraid for their world-wide colonies, their policy at the time was to avoid disruption through non-aggression. The diffused state of their empire stood to lose in an indiscriminate adventure. Eventually they did sanction war with Afghanistan, but under dures of Lytton's skilful combination of manipulation and defiance. His disobedience threw even Disraeli into a temper, who himself was locking the "keys of India" in search of a "scientific frontier". Forced by London to explore avenues of

2a. See Buckle, G. E.—Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Vol. VI, p. 135.

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compromise across conference tables, Lytton carried on the negotiations with such show of strength, impatience and contempt for the "earthen pipkin between the two iron pots"[3] that unless his dictated terms were accepted, no talks could succeed. The last of these was the abortive Peshawar conference in early 1877, between Sir Lewis Pelly and Syeed Nur Mohammad. The breakdown under Lytton's instructions, though excuses were found for public consumption, ensured rupture with the Amir who was, it appears, unaware of or incapable of comprehending the mounting pressure. He made fresh overtures, but Lytton was determined not to "reopen negotiations till the Amir had apologised for his breach of faith and recent bad conduct".[4] What was the Amir's bad conduct or breach of faith is not known. Lytton's own letters, on the contrary, reveal that it was he who should have merited this epithet. Reading his correspondence, however, one is soon conditioned to disregard his powerful expressions of condemnation of his Asian opponents.

Having failed to dictate his terms to the Amir, Lytton turned to strengthening the frontier by other methods. He had organised a very complete system of secret intelligence throughout the Amir's territories. He had already occupied Quetta, which opened for him an opportunity to extend his influence along the western border of Afghanistan. He was also endeavouring to strengthen Kashmir by authorising the Maharaja to accept the suzerainty over Chitral and Yassin. He planned to work round gradually the more turbulent tribes on the northern frontier and gain their support. While Lytton was thus engaged in enriching Afghanistan and preparing to pounce, hostilities between Russia and Turkey commenced in Europe. Britain was expected to join the Turkish side. Lytton knew well that London would not sanction war with Afghanistan without a very definite provocation from the Amir while they were at war with Russia. One war was bad enough, two would be disastrous. Frustrated in his enthusiasm he had to look for some other ways.

3. Lytton's description of Sher Ali before Atta Mohammad at Simla in October 1876 (Vide Lytton papers 518/1).

4. Lytton to Sandeman, 8th April, 1877 (Vide Lytton Papers 518/2, p. 261).

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The Russo-Turkish war commenced in April 1877 and lasted until the San Stefano treaty was signed in January 1878. For more than 200 years Russia and Turkey had been engaged in a succession of wars. Turkey, weak at the time, was dependent on the British for help. The Sultan of Turkey, once a powerful monarch, was still the Khalifa of the Islamic world, commanding allegience of all the Muslims. Lytton saw in this situation tremendous possibilities as this was the period of Pan-Islamic ascendancy. Having failed in diplomacy and restrained in armed intervention, he could cause religious pressure to be applied in the name of the Khalifa on the Amir to accept British terms. Turkey was a "poor relative" and willing to oblige by lending the little authority she was left with to her potential benefactor. Seldom political alliance has been used to borrow religious power to achieve political ends.

Layard, another disciple of the Forward School and a friend of Lytton, was the British Ambassador in Constantinople. In the absence of a clear documentary evidence it must remain a plausible hypothesis, inspite of the strong feeling one gets from the whole series of incidents which followed, that it was at Lytton's initiative that on 8th June 1877, Layard telegraphed Simla that the Sultan of Turkey was anxious to send an envoy to the Amir of Kabul, and to know whether the Indian Government would guarantee their safe passage through India to Afghanistan. He stated that the object of the appointment was "to promote the Sultan's influence, a good understanding between England and Afghanistan and to counteract influence of Russia".[5] If the request was unprompted then it was most opportune. Lytton promptly agreed to guarantee the mission's unimpeded passage and emphasised that if the Sultan really wished to raise Afghanistan against Russia, "he (the Sultan) should lose no time in sending a formal embassy to Kabul under a person of some consequence, the object of whose mission should be made generally known to the Amir's subjects, whom His Highness is trying to deceive as to his real intentions."[6] If the Amir refused to

5. Add. Mss. No. 39164, p. 8. In the same telegram Layard stated that the Envoy selected would be Suleiman Effendi, a native of Bokhara, and who was known to the Indian authorities. But Layard doubted the trustworthiness of Effendi and discouraged his selection. Hence, he was dropped and a different selection was made.

6. Tel. to Layard No. 1344, dated 10-6-77, Add. Mss. 39164.

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respond to the religious pressure from Turkey, his peoples may thus be persuaded to revolt against him.

On the 14th June, Layard replied that the Sultan had resolved to despatch at once an Alim of high rank. He would carry letters from the Grand Vizier, and the Sheikh-Ul-Islam, urging the Amir to abandon the Russian cause, and to enter into friendly alliance with England. If the Amir should persist in his present course, the Sheikh-Ul-Islam would excommunicate all the Muslims aiding or abetting him.[7] Within a week the plans of an important mission were laid down. It was, however, an imperial matter requiring London's permission. Lytton had anticipated their reluctance, hence, on June 9th, he communicated to the Secretary of State for India the substance of Layard's message adding that, while the decision rested with them, he considered the Government of India entitled to express its opinion. He pointed out the advantages of the mission to Anglo-Indian interests, and the danger of prohibiting it. The British Cabinet did not treat the matter as urgent. It was eleven days later on 21st June, that in a telegraphic reply the Secretary of State disagreed and disallowed the facilities, which Lytton had already guaranteed to the mission, including that of the passage through Indian territory.[8] The Viceroy protested strongly. He had already acceded to the request without waiting for London's reply. Even if London had replied at once, it would still have been to stop Lytton's approval. He threatened that the refusal of passage to a Turkish Mission would arouse excitement amongst Muslims and would be regarded by them as an act hostile to Turkey, dictated by fear of Russia. He asked for a reconsideration of the decision. India had often used this device, that if the resentful Indian opinion or the princes were not to be disaffected London should accept the view proffered. Sometimes "the prestige of the British was involved" and "denial would soil their good name' and the like arguments were used. Men sitting in London found it safer to accede to such frantic appeals rather than run the risk of an uprising. The trick always did not work and as the time passed by the argument became stale. But this was the time when the British were recovering from the shock of 1857 uprising, which was

7. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
8. Add. Mss. 39164, p. 10, dated 21st June, 1877.

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still regarded by the British as a predominantly Muslim revolt against their authority and thus they were naturally disinclined to risk Muslim displeasure. More than this fear, however, it was the fact that Lytton's offer to Layard, had already been communicated to the Sultan, which led the British cabinet to review the entire situation. In the upshot they cancelled their previous decision, because the granted permission could not be withdrawn without discourtesy to the Sultan, especially as the arrangements had already been made public.[9] Nevertheless Salisbury pointed out as a warning for the future that "It has been the rule of the British Government to discourage the reception at Kabul of the representatives of any other power".

The Sultan of Turkey selected the Kasiasker Mesmet Khoulussi Effendi, a well-known and much esteemed brother of the late Grand Vizier,[10] as his envoy to the Amir of Afghanistan. His selection had British approval. The envoy was a very intelligent man, and professed himself very much in favour of British interests and policy. Layard had given the Grand Vizier some hints on affairs in Afghanistan, and even supplied instructions to be furnished to the envoy. However, Layard and Lytton, not fully trusting the mission, attached a trustworthy person to it in the guise of an interpreter whose real job, in fact, was to report to the Government of India all that transpired between the envoy and others.

The Viceroy took care not to connect himself openly and formally with the mission so as to arouse no suspicion about its real independence. But the Amir and the Afghan peoples did not believe that the Mission was sent by the Sultan of his own accord or that the whole transaction was not a "make-up" of the British Government prompted by their desire to settle their differences. Lytton also directed that due honours, but not official, be given to the mission during their journey through India. Yet he kept his watchful eye on every movement of the envoy, through his carefully chosen interpreter.

An Afghen, named Lal Shah, was chosen to accompany the mission. Since he was an Afghan, he was not trusted by Layard.

9. Tel. 24th June, 1877, Add. Mss. 39164.
10. Shere Vanizadeh Mehemet Ali Rushdi.

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Although Lytton contemplated the dismissal of Lal Shah, but he could not do so, as after having been once appointed and attached to the mission he (Lal Shah) could expose the British designs and thus do harm to the very purpose so dear to Lytton. However, Lytton made full enquiries about Lal Shah's past and satisfied himself as to his loyal intentions. The Viceroy was a man of a somewhat suspicious nature. He hardly, in fact, could reconcile himself to trust anyone but the English. Previously Lytton had proposed the name of Syed Ahmed, who was loyal to the Government and the only Muslim he felt be could trust. But for reasons not known, Syed Ahmed did not accompany the mission. Syed Ahmed was the founder of the Muslim College at Aligarh, and was later to be designed as the father of "Muslim Nationalism" in India, Coming from Lytton, that he was the only Muslim to be trusted it was a compliment of great significances. On 9th August, 1877, the Mission landed at Bombay. After a stay of two days in Bombay, the Mission left for the frontier, in charge of Colonel Disbrowe. The Turkish Consul-General at Bombay also accompanied the party. The Envoy, as desired by the Viceroy, received no Muslim addresses and declined all interviews with newspaper correspondents.

On arriving at Rawalpindi on 16th August, the Envoy sent a deputation to the Akhund of Swât and some presents. But the Akhund declined to receive the deputation and refused the presents. It is said that the Akhund regretted his conduct later on. His refusal, however, was not based on any feeling of hostility towards the English, but being a religious head, he did not consider it befitting to his position to receive a mission of a political nature. Akhund's denial clearly indicates that the Afghans knew the real character of the Mission. It may be of interest to mention that on Friday, the 14th September the Envoy attended public prayers in Mohabat Khan's Mosque. The service was conducted by Mulla Gulam Jilan and his son, leading followers of the Akhund. At the close of the service, prayers were offered for the defeat of the Russians.

On 27th September, 1877, all the members of the Mission were accompanied into the Amir's presence. He gave them due courtesies; and even came forward to receive them. Having most graciously received the firman of the Sultan, he raised it to his head, welcomed the Mission, and implored them to consider Afghanistan

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as their home. And then he enquired "What news of the foxes (English), and what is their intention?"[11]

The Envoy did his best to persuade the Amir to turn against Russia. Even in an open Durbar, the Turkish Envoy, strongly condemning the Russians, said, that they "are an avaricious, lying and deceitful race. On four different occasions they had violated their treaties with Turkey and commenced hostilities....The Russians are not to be relied upon, they are lying tyrants and friends only in self-interest...." But the Amir remarked, "Yes, such is the way of the world. Friendship is claimed only when there is an object in view."[12]

The Envoy fully explained the object of the mission to the Amir and urged him to form a Muslim combination on his Western border, as a preliminary to openly declaring war on Russia. The Amir replied that this was impossible as the peoples of Central Asia were unwarlike, and he himself had not the means for the undertaking. Had he the means and the choice, he added, he would attack the English rather than the Russians, who unlike the English, had not broken promises or injured or molested him. He, however, professed to nourish no feelings of hostility against the British Government or wished to make war upon England; but the British Government was pressing upon him, and it was necessary that he should not be caught unprepared. "They have taken possession of Quetta" he said "and established a force there, looking in at Kandahar. If an armed man places himself at the back door of your house, what can be his motive, unless he wants to find his way in when you are asleep."[13] Indeed Quetta had been taken as a permanent military possession without his consent; the Khan "having been won over by a monthly grant of Rs. 10,000". This he considered a violation of the treaty of friendship, in no circumstance to be condoned. Quetta had been for long a part of Afghanistan, and after its annexation by the British, the two Khans—Khodadad Khan and Mullah Ahmud—had written letters of submission to the Amir of Afghanistan. These he had sent to the British Government, but no reply was received; even the letters were not return-

11. Add. Mss. 39164. Interview with Amir, dated 27th September, 1877.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*

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ed. This was a "treacherous" act at which he felt highly indignant. Moreover, he believed that the British agents had encroached upon his authority by entering his territory and had incited rebellion against him. The British conduct in the Sistan boundary dispute was also a subject of his deep resentment in which the British arbitrator had awarded rich lands to the Shah and sterile to the Amir. Quetta, more than anything else, however, remained his source of great dissatisfaction and fury.

The Amir was quite conscious of his meagre strength against the English and his other limitations: "compared with the English I am a bird possessing no power, nor do I boast of my capabilities." But he regarded the English to be selfish, unreliable, and unwise. An example of their unwisdom was their attack of Afghanistan without annexing the Punjab first. They had pushed through obnoxious reforms during the year of disturbance in India. For a place like Quetta, they had severed friendship with an old and trusted friend, i.e. himself. The Amir was genuinely baffled by these acts of thoughtlessness and unfriendliness. Either their frontier agents sent wrong reports or the English Parliament considered its own national interests only. Yet he clearly said "Let them relinquish Quetta, and I am as ever their friend."[14] Little did he know that it was not the Parliament which was aggressive; it was Lytton who was acting for the British nation. But if the nation gets credit for its officials, it must be ready for the discredit too.

On the other hand, though he did not like the Russians, either,—infidels, and therefore, enemies—and had rejected persistent approaches by the Russian agents, yet as the Russians had not conquerred any territory which the Amir considered his own; he had no complaints against them. Moreover, the Russians always approached him in a more friendly manner, and let him feel an equal, where the English approach was that of a superior power to an inferior one, carrying an unspoken threat of war.

Conscious as he was of his weaker position and afraid of English aggression, the Amir could not openly displease the Russians, on whom he presumably intended to rely for help in the event of attack. Yet he never allowed Russian troops to be stationed on

14. Add. Mss. 39164. Amir to the Turkish Envoy, dated 29-9-77.

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Afghan territory. Speaking of his relations with the Russians before the Turkish Mission, he said, "It is now eight months since the Russian Agent has been seated in Kabul, begging for a reply to his letter, which he (the agent) had not received. News has just reached me that another agent has arrived at Mazara Sharif....I do not know what to do with them. The Russians are devils; they understand nothing but what concerns their own interests."[15]

All Afghans, including the Amir, looked upon all "infidels"—English, Russians and other non-muslims—as their traditional enemies. How could he then willingly allow the "Ferangee" agents into his country. He was sure that they would be assassinated by the fanatical and hostile mobs of his subjects. Similarly, he considered the Russians as devils and would not permit their agents either; though invariably they sent Muslims of Samarkand and Tashkent. He was fully aware that the Russians were deceitful. To him all Christian desired the extermination of Muslims from the face of the earth.

These proceedings of the Mission enable us to understand the minds of both Sher Ali and Lytton, and it is impossible not to notice the validity of the Amir's grievances. But how could Lytton show any consideration to Sher Ali when he was bent upon having his own way, even against the final arbiters of policy in London.

Lytton had held important diplomatic posts. Before his Indian appointment he was British Minister at Lisbon, and later Ambassador at Paris. If, therefore, he acted without previously consulting London, we may properly ask whether this was not to forestall the anticipated opposition of the Cabinet. His vigorous protest against the Cabinet's order makes it clear that he was determined to put pressure on the Amir in favour of the British—and intended to leave no alternative before the British Cabinet.

It is equally strange that Layard, who likewise was an experienced diplomat, did not try to secure the sanction of the Foreign Office before communication with Lytton. That both Lytton and Layard should have acted before consulting London is significant of their complete agreement in policy. Perhaps, their personal friendship goes some way to explain it. That both Layard and

15. *Ibid.*

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Lytton were aware of the significance of their action is borne out by their private correspondence on this subject.[16] Evidently, Lytton considered this mission to be of great importance, and was determined to go on with it, even at the displeasure of London. He was exploring the possibility of applying the religious influence of the Sultan on the Amir. In the beginning he was optimistic about the success of the mission, but even when a letter of warning from Cavagnari made him doubtful, he still considered it worth trying. For, if the Amir refused to take advice of the Envoy, public opinion in Afghanistan might be changed in favour of the British, and this would influence the Amir. On 19th June, 1877, Cavagnari wrote to Lytton, "Theoretically, he (the Sultan) is certainly regarded as the Head of Islam; but, in practice religion only finds supporters when it suits the personal interests of the parties whose aid is sought, and there is a fair prospect of the movement proving successful. On the other hand, it is quite disregarded when people find it inconvenient to respond to the call of their religious leaders."[17] Considering what happened to the Amir of Bokhara, Cavagnari's comment was very pertinent. The Amir of Bokhara was regarded as only second in point of religious influence to the Sultan of Turkey, and yet his overthrow by Russians created comparatively little comment amongst the Muslims of those parts.

However, there were many in Kabul and throughout Afghanistan, especially in the Kandahar direction, who favoured an alliance with the English; and a Turkish envoy. It was in them that Lytton saw his chance. But he failed to convince the Muslims generally that the Ulemah had been really sent by the Sultan, free from British prompting. If the people were convinced of the mission's authenticity, Lytton's task would have been accomplished, for the expected a general revolt against the Amir. Beyond unauthentic reports of expected disturbances in Afghanistan Lytton hardly had any other evidence for his belief, but he feared internal trouble. Before that happened he desired to secure British interests. He wrote to the Secretary of State for India: "If the Amir is not murdered within the next six months, he will be obliged to employ a large army he has collected for holy war. Better it should be directed against Russia than against us....Nothing short of deposi-

16. Add. Mss. 39164, pp. 10-15.
17. Add. Mss. 39164, Cavagnari to Viceroy, 19th Jule, 1877.

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tion of Amir or strong appeal to him by the Sultan, can prevent completion of understanding between Amir and Russian authorities...."[18] There is no improbability in Lytton's belief but it was not backed by facts then and knowledge now. Could it be a front-argument? However he certainly was afraid of an early Russian occupation of Merv. While there were many British statesmen who had come to accept Russian occupation of Merv as a logical certainty and were reconciled to it, Lytton was not. Hence he not only wanted results, but wanted them in a hurry. Before Merv was occupied, if at all, he considered it absolutely essential that Kandahar and Herat were under British control, and if Turkish mission could secure Amir's assent to the establishment of British agents at these points the Government or India would be satisfied without interfering with the independence of Afghanistan, but "if no such agreement could be effected with the Amir, within the next two months, we shall probably be obliged to upset him; we cannot afford to wait much longer."[19] Lytton's determination to upset the Amir, in case the Turkish mission failed to effect a great and immediate change for the better in British relations with Kabul, is further reaffirmed by his letter to Cavagnari, to whom he generally wrote frankly: "I think our only course will be to upset the Amir, conclude direct relations with Afghan chiefs and others, and separate Western Afghanistan from Kabul as a semi-independent Khanate, including Herat, Kandahar, Merv, and Maimena under British protection."[20]

The Turkish Envoy did try to pacify the Amir,—since he could not do anything else—and repeatedly urged him to come to terms with the British. The Envoy was in no position to remedy his grievances; he could not even show his sympathy with him, if he had any. His function was not to listen, but to say, which he performed honestly and emphatically. In face of such complaints, he naturally could not plead with the Amir effectively. Thus, the Turkish Mission met an unfortunate, though not unexpected failure, which, indeed made the second Afghan war inevitable, for Lytton had decided that if the mission failed, he would upset the Amir and

18. Tel. 10th June, 1877. Add. Mss. 39164.

19. Lytton to (Layard). Add. Mss. 39164, dated 29th June, 1877. Addressee is not mentioned.

20. Add. Mss. 39164, dated 28th June, 1877. Lytton to Cavagnari.

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divide Afghanistan. He did not have to wait long for the spark he needed to set off the second Afghan war.

All this interference in Afghan affairs was occasioned by the fear of Russian invasion of India. Yet Lytton and London did not seriously believe that it was either feasible or even formidable. The apprehension, precautionary measures and motives, are a subject of a separate study.[21] Suffice it to say that the vibrations of the power-palpitations in Afghanistan were felt as much in St. Petersburg as in London. While the Turkish Mission was in Afghanistan, M der Giers on 12th September, 1877, complained to Loftus that an envoy from the Sultan of Turkey to the Amir of Afghanistan had passed through India.[22] The Russian Government could not view this event without some apprehension and anxiety, as they were not friendly to Turkey. The Russian Ambassador stated that the object of the Envoy's mission was to preach a religious crusade amongst the Muslims of Central Asia, and induce the Amir of Bokhara, through the Afghan Amir, to exite revolt against Russia. The Amir of Bokhara, the Ambassador observed, had been a faithful ally of Russia, but difficulties might arise in consequence of religious agitation. It was, therefore, of importance that the Amir of Afghanistan be advised to obstain from any action which might create such difficulties.

Replyintg to this complaint, Derby blandly assured the Russian authorities that "Her Majesty's Government have no reason to believe that the object of his (Turkish) Mission was to preach a crusade in Central Asia."[23] The Russians were not mollified. If the English were thus reticent about their plans for complicating matters for the Russians in Central Asia, the Russians were scarcely candid when on July 3rd, 1878 they denied that any Russian agent was to leave for Kabul—a flat life.

21. The present writer has analysed them in detail in a forthcoming publication.

22. Parl. Papers, Central Asia, No. 1, 1878, p. 121.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 122, dated 17th October, 1877.

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Political and Military Aspects of the Reign of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah

Part I

BY

Prof. H. K. Sherwani

Muḥammad-Qulī's Accession and Coinage

When Ibrāhīm died he had six sons living. The eldest, 'Abdu'l-Qādir, was confined in the Dēwarkonda fort, the next, Ḥusain-Qulī, was twenty, while Muḥammad-Qulī was barely fourteen, and the other three, 'Abdu'l-Fattāḥ, Khudābandah and Muḥammad Amīn were all younger.[1] A tradition seems to have been cropped up later that Ibrāhīm had nominated Muḥammad-Qulī as his successor and had even made high officers, both civil and military, swear allegiance to him, but this seems to have been an after-

1. Ibrāhīm's surviving sons, *Q.S.*, 229; the name of Muḥammad-Qulī's elder brother is variously given as Ḥusain-Qulī and Ḥusain 'Alī, while Ferishta quite wrongly names the *third* son Subḥān-Qulī; the name Ḥusain-Qulī seems the most probable. Ferishta is usually sketchy or wrong with regard to Quṭbshāhī history, and he confesses in the very beginning of the chapter devoted to the history of Tilangana, II, 267, that his knowledge of the history of this region is very meagre. He is wrong that Muḥammad-Qulī was the eldest surviving son of the late king, that there were only two brothers of the new sovereign and that he was barely twelve at the time of his accession. He entirely ignores Muḥammad Amīn whose son Sulṭān Muḥammad became Muḥammad-Qulī's son-in-law and successor. Rafī'u'din Shīrāzī in his *Taẕkiratu'l-Mulūk*, Aṣafīyah, Tārīkh, 1081, fol. 16 b says that Ibrāhīm had settled the kingdom on Muḥammad-Qulī at the time of his death; but this is not corroborated. Khāfī Khān confesses in the beginning of the first volume of his *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, p. 2, that he has culled his account of the kingdoms of the Deccan from Ferishta; and so far as Muḥammad-Qulī's claim to the throne is concerned he simply copies down his source book almost word for word. *Ḥadīqatu'l-'Ālam*, 200, also follows the same line. There is no evidence, as Prof. Siddīqī seems to think (*Tar. Gol.*, 87) that Ḥusain-Qulī was either disabled or had renounced the throne.

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thought.[2] It is on record that Ḥusain was well versed in classical lore and was a scholar of logic, philosophy and medicine, while Muḥammad-Qulī himself confesses in one of his poems that whatever he acquired was by way of instinct and he did not mind being called unlettered.[3] This goes counter to the tradition that Muḥammad-Qulī had been nominated by Ibrāhīm, for in that case there was no reason why his education should have been neglected. His accession was probably due to some kind of palace intrigue. Ḥusain's prospective father-in-law Mīr Shah Mīr was away at the siege of Naldrug, while Rāi Rāo was all powerful at the court when Ibrāhīm died. He obviously thought that in case he lost his opportunity he would at least be demoted by Shāh Mīr when he returned, and before his opponents at the capital (there must have been many of them) could raise their heads he had a farce of an election gone through and raised Muḥammad-Qulī to the throne.[4] It is also possible that those in high office at the capital showed their preference to Muḥammad-Qulī because he was soft and gentle to a fault and was more inclined to art, poetry and a hail-fellow-well-met sort of atmosphere than to affairs of state, while his elder brother was serious-minded; they therefore threw their dice in favour of the former because they would thus be able to have influence in matters of state to a larger degree.

Before proceeding to discuss the political history of the new reign it would be well to describe the coinage of the Sulṭān as this would throw an interesting light on the change of the capital from Golkonda to Ḥaidarābād. We have a non-dated and three dated types of coins extant belonging to the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah; the first dated has no mint name but only the date "89", the second bears the date 991/1583 with the name of the mint, "Dāru's-Salṭanat Kulkunda" while the third bears date 1012/1603-4 with "Dāru's-Salṭanat Ḥaidarābād". Up to the present no coins have been unearthed bearing dates other than these. Not only do they show that there was no other mint besides these two but that the Golkonda mint ceased to strike coins after the institution of the mint at Ḥaidarābād. The half-fuls of "89" which no doubt

2. Thus in *Bur.*, 227.

3. Muḥammad-Qulī calls himself "unlettered" in one of his ghazals; *Kulliyat*, ghazal 7, line 6.

4. "Election by the amirs and dignitaries of the Kingdom"; *Q.S.*, 232.

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stands for 989/1581, the year after the accession of the new Sulṭān, has the representation of an *'alam* or the standard of Imam Ḥusain sacred to the Shī'ah, and this shows that the new king had a decided bent of mind towards Shī'ism almost immediately after he had ascended the throne.[5]

War and Peace with Bijapur

It was while the Quṭbshāhī and the Nizāmshāhī forces were beseiging Naldrug that news of the death of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh arrived from Golkonda. During the thirty odd years of his reign Ibrāhīm had so much endeared himself to all sections of the population that it was with difficulty that the beseiging forces could believe in the news. In fact the commander of the Quṭbshāhī forces,

5. *Coins of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh:*

I. Obv., محمد قلی شاہ

Rev., *'Alam with a whisk on either side and a crescent-like base.*

II. Obv.,

عدل محمد قلی قطب شاہ ضرب دار السلطنۃ گلکندہ ۹۹۱

Rev., تعبیر دہ فلوس شاہی پیوستہ بجنۃ الٰہی

III. Obv., ابو المظفر محمد قلی قطب شاہ

Rev., ضرب دار السلطنۃ حیدرآباد ۱۰۱۲

IV. Obv., سلطان محمد قلی

Rev., بادشاہ ۸۹

Specimens of these coins are found in the Hyderabad Museum as well in Mr. Hormuz Kaus's collection in Hyderabad; see his article, *Coins of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Colconda*, Spink's *Num. Circ.*, May, 1955, p. 212. These coins as well as Ferishta's statement that the Quṭb Shāhī forces retreated to "Ḥaidarabad" in 1005/1597 (*Fer.* II. 163) and the mention of the new capital as *Ḥaidarnagar* and *Shahr-e Ḥaidar* in Muḥammad-Qulī's own *Kulliyāt* (Naẓm, p. 324, and ghazal No. 184) are a clear evidence that the city was named Ḥaidarabad from the very beginning.

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Mīr Shāh Mīr, who was at Nandgāon near the beleaguered city, kept the news back for some time, and it was only after reassuring himself of the consequences that he published it. Murtaẓa Niẓām Shah immediately ordered Mīrak Mu'īn Subzwārī (who was well-known for his knowledge of the niceties of protocol) to Golkonda for condolence and congratulations. But Mīr Shāh Mīr had a certain amount of trepidation to proceed to Golkonda himself as his daughter had been betrothed to the new Sulṭān's elder brother Ḥusain-Qulī, and to be on the safe side he sent Khwājā Muḥammad Samnānī in advance to probe into the atmosphere of the Court. It was probably when he was assured that no harm would come to him that he himself proceeded to Golkonda where he was received in right royal fashion and robes of state were conferred on him. He reported to the King that the siege of Naldrug had been going on for many weeks without much success, and if His Majesty were to go to the battlefield himself it would greatly hearten the troops. The King accepted the proposal and started for Naldrug.[6]

Muḥammad-Qulī arrived at Naldrug in Ramẓān 989/September, 1581. "The fort was one of the best fortified in the whole of Hindustan" and was further well commanded by Wazīr Khān, surnamed Wazīru'l-Mamālik. In spite of this the allied commanders were so sure of its capture that they fixed their artillery pieces opposite the driest part of the wide moat so that when a breach were affected they could easily cross over to the fort itself. At the same time "every one, man and beast, were put into service to fill the forty-yard wide moat with earth, stones and wood".

6. *Bur.*, 527-529; *Q.S.*, 232-33. The scheme seems to have been that the allies should first conquer Naldrug, which had been renamed Shahdrug, and then take Sholapur and Udgir; it was also agreed that while the last two places should eventually be annexed to Tilangana, Sholapur and Naldrug should go to Aḥmadnagar; *Fer.*, II, 172. Of course the whole programme fell through owing to the tough resistance of the 'Adilshāhī troops both at Naldrug and Bijapur as well as the diplomatic talent of Chānd Bībī.

Nandgāon; hqrs. of a taluqa, Nāsik district, Mahārāshtra State; 20°19′N., 74°43′E.

Sholāpūr; hqrs. of a district, Mahārāshtra State; 17°40′N., 74°42′E.

Udgīr, hqrs. of a taluqa in Bīdar district, Mysore State; 18°41′N., 78°56′E.

Naldrug, called *Shāhdrug* by Persian authorities, in the Tuljāpur taluqa, Osmanabad District; 17°49′N., 76°29′E.

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Cannon shot from the heavy artillery like the Nine-yard piece, the Laila Majnūn, the Hawā'ī from Aḥmadnagar and the Muḥammadī and Ḥaidarī from Golkonda played havoc with ramparts opposite; but the commander of the defending garrison was so alert that the moment there was a breach he managed to erect another rampart within right opposite the breach. When Naldrug could not be taken by fair means messages were sent to the brave commander of the garrison offering a large amount of money and honours if he would hand over Naldrug to the invading army; but he replied that he was a faithful servant of his august master and he would not lay down his arms so long as he lived.[7]

The siege therefore went on, and in order to hearten the soldiers further the young Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī went into action himself. Bombardment continued and portions of the wall were demolished; but the mounds of debris were so high and perhaps so soft that it was difficult for the besieging army to take the fort by escalade. The siege had now gone on for four or five months, and when it was learnt that there was considerable civil commotion at Bijapur just then[8] it was decided to leave a small force at

7. Date of Muḥammad-Quli's arrival at Naldrug; *Bur.*, 530; Wazīr Khān, *thānēdār* of Naldrug, Q.S., 234; names of cannon, *Q.S.*, 234. Offer of bribe to the commandant, *Fer.*, II, 53 & 143. Ferishta calls the Commandant Muḥammad Aqā'i Turkmān, and it is possible that Wazir Khān may be his title.

8. *Civil commotion in Bijapur*: Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II was only 9 when he succeeded his uncle 'Ali 'Adil Shah in 988/1580. The government was then controlled by Kāmil Khān Dakhnī while the education and bringing up of the boy-king was entrusted to his aunt, the dowager Queen Chānd Bībī, who was the daughter of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. There seem to have been three racial groups at the capital all fighting for political power: the dakhnī party led by Kāmil Khān, the *gharībs* or *āfāqis* led by persons like Musṭafa Khān Ardistānī and the ḥabashī group led by Ikhlās Khān and others. The tale is full of intrigues, conspiracies and murders at the capital as well as in the provinces, and the office with the least amount of security either of tenure or of life was that of the wakīl or prime minister who acted as a sort of regent during the minority of the King. The life of the regency was short indeed, for the first to hold the office, Kāmil Khan, was seized and beheaded barely two months and twelve days after his accession to office, while his successor Kishwār Khān had to fly first to Aḥmadnagar and thence to Golkonda just four months and twelve days after he had seized the ministership. At first Chānd Bībī was left as a governess to her nephew the Sulṭān, but the moment she began to interfere in governmental work she was incarcerated in the Satara fort by Kishwar Khān, and was a prisoner

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Naldrug and to move on to the capital itself. The invading army was forty thousand strong while the citadel of Bijapur was defended by a small force of just two or three thousand men. It was an ill omen when two of the Bijapur commanders, 'Ainu'l-mulk Kan'āni and Ankas Khān went over to the enemy with their eight thousand horse which had just arrived in the capital. On the other hand there was no love lost between two Aḥmadnagar generals, Syed Murtaḍā and Bihzādu'l-Mulk, and assault after assault were postponed because they could not agree to the exact timings. Within the citadel the reins of government were now grasped by King Ibrāhīm's aunt, 'Ali 'Adil Shah's widow Chand Bībī, and by her native patriotism and tact she soon brought about a complete overhaul of government and rejuvinated the whole political structure. She appointed the influential Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan, son of Shāh Ṭāhir, Mīr Jumla of the Kingdom. Immediately on assuming charge the new Mīr Jumla sent messages to the enemy camp, especially to his old friend Syed Murtaḍa, that it was futile to continue aggression, while on the other hand he sent word to the *bergī* guerillas, most of whom were from the southern Maratha country to rejoin Bijapur service which they had quitted in the time of the late Sulṭān. His general policy and treatment was so commendable that even those who had so lately been divested of power, namely the Ḥabashī party, paid homage to the boy Sulṭān and signified their loyalty to the State. The guerilla *bergīs* continually kept the invading army fully occupied and further prevented any provisions from entering the enemy lines. When conditions of famine began to pervade the large Tilangana-Aḥmadnagar army the generals held a *Majlis-i Kingāsh* or Council of War which decided that there was no alternative except to break the camp and retreat, the Aḥmadnagar forces to the capital *via* Musṭafābād-Miraj and Kalhar and the Tilangana forces to Golkonda *via* Gulbarga. Muḥammad-Qulī, who must have been thoroughly dis-

right up till his downfall. But the Ḥabashi Amīrs who now seized power proved to be no better than their predecessors, and the turmoil which seemed to be the order of the day nearly resulted in the downfall of the Kingdom at the hands of the armies of Tilangana and Aḥmadnagar. It was at this juncture that Chānd Bībī assumed full control of the government and appointed Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan to the office of wakīl or prime minister. See *Basātīn*, pp. 153-180; *Briggs*, III, 145-55; Syed Aḥmadu'l-lah Qādrī, *Memoirs of Chand Bibi*, ch.

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gusted at the result of the war which had gone on for a whole year, now left Amīr Zainal Astrābādī, whom he gave the title of Musṭafā Khān, with seven thousand horse and a large number of elephants to occupy certain places on the Bijapur-Tilangana border which he thought were his birthright, and marched back to Golkonda.[9] On his arrival at the capital he deposed Mīr Shāh Mīr and ordered his externment to the place of his birth Iṣfahān in Persia. The Mīr, however, never reached Persia and died on the way.[10]

The Mughals in the Deccan

Here it is necessary to digress a little from the flow of events in Tilangana to an event of primary importance to the future history of the whole of the Deccan, namely the advance of the Mughal

9. Thus in *Fer.*, II, 54. *Fer.*, II, 172, gives the story that some of the Tilangana officers represented to the King that it was not right and proper that he should have come to the battlefield at the bidding of Mīr Shāh Mīr, "for there was tradition in the Deccan that if a king wanted another king's help he should come to the battlefield first" and the King of Aḥmadnagar had not stirred from his capital. The story is not found elsewhere even in Ferishta, nor is the "tradition" repeated. As a matter of fact it was not Mu'taḍā Niẓām Shāh but Mīr Shah Mīr who had persuaded Muḥammad-Qulī to go to the battlefield, although it is quite possible that the Mīr might have been initially moved by the Aḥmadnagar generals.

10. *Ḥadīqa*, 207-208. Many elements seem to have contributed to the fall of Mīr Shāh Mīr. The primary element must have been the continuous failure of the Quṭbshāhī arms on the Bijāpūr front. Then there was the so-called tradition mentioned in the previous note, which may have been dinned into the King's ears evidently by those opposed to the minister, and thirdly the failure of the match of the king with his wife the daughter of the Mīr. There was not any long interval between the marriage of the girl with the King and the dismissal of her father. As has been mentioned above the girl was originally betrothed to the King's brother Ḥusain-Qulī, who was avowedly well-read and sedate in his manners (*Q.S.*, 229), and now on his return to the capital she was married to the King. (*Bur.*, 535). The king's character was loose, as is evident from his poem after poem in his *Kulliyāt*, especially those dedicated to his paramours (pp. 225-41; 321-24). Even while studying in the *maktab* at a very early age he is reported to have felt a dislike to the prescribed syllabus and had an avowed inclination towards love and romance; see Zor, *Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, p. 36. Even when he married Mīr Shāh Mīr's daughter he was given to enjoyment of all kind (*Fer.*, II, 54), and this might well have unnerved both the new queen and his father. We do not hear about the Queen any more, and except for his famous daughter, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, we know that Muḥammad-Qulī was without an issue.

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power southwards. It was as early as 1398 that Firoz Shāh Bahmani had sent an envoy to Tīmūr at Delhi offering to pay homage to him as the Emperor of India, in return for which Tīmūr had sent a *farmān* conferring the sovereignty not merely of the Deccan but also of Malwa and Gujarat on the Bahmani king.[11] The first battle of Panipat, fought on 10-7-932/22-4-1526, which entrenched Bābar in India, coincided with the virtual extinction of Bahmani authority in the Deccan. The rulers of Bijapur, Aḥmadnagar, Berar and Khāndēsh made a correct estimate of the rising power of the Mughals and sent envoys to Bābar offering congratulations on his decisive victory against Ibrāhīm Lodi.[12] The Bahmani *roi fainéant,* Kalīmu'l-lāh also wrote to Bābar offering him Berar and Daulatābād (which he no longer controlled) if he would help him in throwing off the yoke of Amīr Barīd, the Mayor of the Palace, at Bidar. The news, however, leaked out and Kalīmu'l-lāh had to fly for his life from his capital fort at Bidar to Bijāpūr.

Bābar had to conquer North India peacemeal and was not spared long enough to look towards the Deccan. His son Humāyūn had enough to deal with at home and had eventually to vacate his throne for Sher Shāh and his progeny for fifteen long years. But such was the awe of the Mughals in the Deccan that "Burhan Niẓām Shāh, 'Imād Shāh and other rulers of the Deccan" were ill at ease when they heard that Humāyūn had actually crossed the Satpuṛas and was in Khāndēsh some time about 942/1535-36.[13] As early as the twentyfifth year of Akbar's reign, i.e., 988/1580 Abu'l-Faḍl complains that the rulers (*'marzbānān'*) of the Deccan fail to act according to the Imperial decrees, but at the same time he confesses that they do not desist from submitting petitions and consider themselves as protected princes of the Empire. He mentions that "not so very long ago the ruler (*'wālī'*) of Golkonda sent a petition (*'arzdāsht*) to His Imperial Majesty which was full of flattering terms. This was graciously given favourable consider-

11. *Bahmanīs,* p. 158.
12. *Ibid.,* p. 417.
13. *Fer.,* I, 215; the letter which was sent to the Emperor through Shāh Ṭāhir Junaidī is couched in the most abject terms, and is found in extenso in *Fer.,* II, 285. *Daulatābad;* famous hill-fort in Aurangabād district, Mahārāshtra State; 19°57′N., 17°13′E.

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ation on behalf of the Emperor giving solace to the heart of the sender."[14] Ever since the surrender of Gujarāt at the hands of Muẓaffar Shāh in 1572 Akbar had begun to cast his longing eyes towards the Deccan. The senseless internecine wars after the short-lived truce preceding the Battle of the Krishna in 1565, the squabbles at Aḥmadnagar on the death of Ibrāhīm Niẓām Shah II, the never-ending quarrel over the border town of Shōlāpūr between Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr, and the self-complacency of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan—all this must have encouraged Akbar to the possible elimination of the Sulṭānates. Moreover almost immediately after the conquest of Gujarat in 1573 the discontented element had again raised Muẓaffar to the throne, and in spite of the full weight of the Empire which was brought to bear upon the rebels they continued to oppose the Imperial arms for nearly twelve years.[15] It therefore appeared necessary that Malwa should be covered by Imperial arms which would stultify the rebels' movements. Malwa had been an appendage of the Sulṭāns of Gujarat ever since 1531,[16] and now Akbar appointed his confidant Khān-i A'zam Mirza 'Azīz Kōkā governor of the region and himself proceeded to the south to supervise operations in the Deccan.

The immediate targets were Khāndēsh and Aḥmadnagar. The problem of Khāndēsh proved to be easy of solution, for the ruler, Raja 'Alī Khān Fārūqī had realised his inferiority and put himself under the protectorate of the Mughal power. Even on his accession to the throne in 984/1576 he had made up his mind not to adopt the royal title and was content to bear the simple title of Khān.[17] He was a permanent ally of the Mughals, and it was to him that Akbar wrote a commendatory letter in favour of Burhān in 999/1590,[18] when the latter was sent southwards to reclaim

14. *Akbar Nāmāh*, II, 162.

15. *Ibid.*, II, 255 ff. The last king of Gujarat, Muẓaffar, went on opposing the forces of the Mughals for more than eleven years, and it was not till 991/1583 that Gujarat was finally pacified and annexed. See also *Fer.*, II, 233; Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, p. 573. Apart from all other considerations Akbar no doubt coveted the extended sea-coast which the conquest of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom would give him.

16. The date of the conquest of Māndu by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat is 9-8-937/28-3-1532 according to *Fer.*, II, 269, not 931 H. as in Amīr Aḥmad 'Alavi's *Shāhān-i Mālwah*, p. 133.

17. *Fer.*, II, 288.

18. *Fer.*, II, 289.

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his patrimony from Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh whom he considered to be a usurper.[19] Faiḍi, who was sent as an envoy by Akbar first to Burhānpūr and then to Aḥmadnagar, is quite clear about the position of Raja 'Alī Khān *vis ā vis* the Emperor. He says in one of his petitions addressed to Akbar that when he visited the Imperial envoy he got down from his steed and walked quite a long distance before reaching his camp. When he saw the (vacant) Imperial throne he took off his shoes, bowed low and then received the royal *farmān* at the hands of Faidi.[20] Right through his long reign of thirty-one years he was a staunch supporter of the Mughal power in the Deccan, and was killed fighting for the Mughals in the great battle fought near Sonepat on the banks of the Godavari on 17-6-1005/26-1-1597.[21]

19. *Ibid.*, I, 151.

20. Abu'l-Faiḍ Faiḍī, son of Shaikh Mubārak and brother of Abu'l-Faḍl, was the Imperial envoy to the Deccan from 10-8-999/3-6-1591 to 1001/1593 A series of his reports to the Emperor from the Deccan are contained in the collection of his letters *Tabāshīru's-Subḥ*, Salar Jang Library, *Adab Farsi*, 31. The episode of Raja 'Alī Khān making obeisance to the vacant throne will be found on p. 10. Here it might be mentioned that whatever Faiḍī says about Golkonda is all heresay as he never came nearer the capital of Tilangana than Aḥmadnagar, and he was never favourably inclined to any of the Deccan kingdoms, which he does not consider to have even a semblence of independence. Thus he calls "Ibrāhīm-Qulī" (sic) the jāgīrdār of Bījāpūr (p. 31), and says that Chaul was included in the "jāgīr" of Niẓāmu'l-mulk (p. 38) and Gulbarga in the "jāgīr" of 'Adil Khān (p. 53). He is all praises for Raja 'Ali Khan's nephew as he had "a feeling of deep loyalty towards His Majesty even *in absentia*" and was not "devoid of the quintessence of goodness' (p. 31). The only personality which he considers outstanding in the Deccan is that of Burhān who had been under Akbar's surveillance since 992/1584, for he considered himself to have been "picked up from the very dust" by Akbar and one who owed his very existence to His Majesty (p. 27). It is surprising how, in spite of the vast resources he must have had at his command, he knew so little about the conditions of the Deccan. He calls the king of Tilangana "Aḥmad-Qulī" and the king of Bijapur "Ibrāhim-Qulī" (p. 31) which is all wrong. He is naturally vocal about Aḥmadnagar, the immediate objective of Akbar's expansionist policy southwards, and calls it a city "full of noise and evil ... where the dissolute and the libertines abound" (pp. 27, 28). This may be true of the abjection to which the Niẓām-Shāhī kingdom had reached; but Faiḍī had not stepped beyond that city, and quite naturally his data about the rest of the Deccan is unreliable.

21. *Fer.*, II, 289. The date of the battle of Sonepat is variously given by *Fer.*, I, 270 as 17-6-1005, and *Fer.*, II, 163 as 18-6-1005. The battle in fact raged for two days; these two dates correspond with 17—18-1-1597 not with 26-1-1597 as in *Briggs*, III, 308.

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In spite of the Mughal conquest of Gujarat and Malwa and the protectorate over Khāndēsh and in spite of the internal turmoil in the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar itself its conquest proved to be a vastly difficult problem to solve. The conditions in that kingdom seemed so favourable to the Mughals that it appeared like a ripe fruit ready to fall in the lap of Akbar's army at its bidding; but it was after two major efforts lasting many years that the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar was finally subdued.

Dynastic Turmoil at Ahmadnagar

While delineating the progress of Mughal influence in the Deccan we have strayed slightly from the important events which were unfolding themselves in the Niẓāmshāhī kingdom where the first contacts between the Mughal army and the army of Tilangana was about to take place. Aḥmadnagar had been in a state of uncertainty ever since the flight of Burhān to Akbar's court in 992/1584. There was a most unnatural rivalry between Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh and his son the Crown Prince Mīrān Ḥusain since his marriage to Bībī Khadījā Sulṭān, popularly known as Rājā Jio, sister of Ibrahīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur.[22] Murtaḍā had been a complete failure in administrative matters, and was so fickle and uncertain of his own likes and dislikes that he appointed as many as five *pēshwās* or Prime Ministers within a few months, one of whom, Mīr Ṣādiq, was in office for just nine days.[23] It is related that it was partly his madness which he is reputed to have contracted that he became the deadly enemy of his own son Mīrān Ḥusain, and ordered the *kotwāl* or Police Commissioner of Daulatābād where the Prince was, to put him to death. But the son had luck with him. He escaped from Daulatābād, hurried to the capital and in his turn had his father suffocated to death! The young Mirān now proclaimed himself king on 18-7-996/13-6-1587. But he was not destined to rule for long and was himself murdered by the dakhnīs who now raised Ismā'īl son of the fugitive Burhān on the throne in preference to his elder brother Ibrāhīm as he was the son of a

22. *Fer.*, II, 57, gives the name of the Princess. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh was affectionately known as *Jagat Gurū* or "the Universal Preceptor"; he ruled Bijapur from 23-2-998/22-12-1589 to 11-1-1037/12-9-1627. His long reign saw the elimination of Bijapur's rival, the Niẓāmshāhi State from the map of South India.

23. For a list of these peshwās, see *Bur.*, 555, 558.

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negress and was too dark for the dakhnīs to be owned as king.[24] The accession of Ismā'il is a landmark in the downward trend of the Niẓāmshāhī State, for it brought about the ascendency of the Mahdavī cult in Aḥmadnagar in preference to Shī'ism which had been the state religion ever since Shāh Ṭāhir converted the royal family to that faith in the reign of Burhan I.[25] Religious antagonism now became imbedded in racial antagonism, for the party in power consisted of dakhnī nobles most of whom were mahdavīs, while most of the *gharibs* or Newcomers in opposition were of the Shī'ah faith and of Persian extraction. On Ismā'il's accession many of the *gharībs* were expelled to Bijapur on 1-10-997/3-8-1589, and we learn from Ferishta that a few weeks leter, on 19-2-998/18-12-1589 he too left Aḥmadnagar for Bijapur, there to

24. Mirān Ḥusain Niẓām Shah, 18-7-996/13-6-1587—12-5-997/13-3-1588. Ibrāhīm Niẓām Shah, 12-5-997/13-3-1588—13-7-997/18-5-1589.

25. For Shāh Tāhir see Sherwani, *Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk*, Part II, *J.I.H.*, April, 1956, p. 24, n. 102.

Syed Muḥammad Mahdī, the founder of the Mahdawī sect, was born at Jaunpūr in eastern Uttar Pradēsh in 847/1443. He was a precocious child, and when he grew up he became famous as a man of great learning and wide intellect. He slowly gyrated towards Gujarat, and it was during a pilgrimage to Mecca that he proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi or great "Guide" whose advent was supposed to have been predicted by the Prophet Muḥammad, as one of the signs of the approaching Day of Judgment. He seems to have worked certain miracles, and Ferishta was himself impressed by the so-called signs of the Mahdī which were found in him (*Fer.* II, 150). He created such an impression in the capital of Gujarat that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bēgadā (1458-1511) wanted to meet him but was dissuaded by the nobles of the court lest he might be converted to the Mahdawī creed by the powers that were said to be latent in the Syed. It was not long before he had to leave Aḥmadābad for Paṭan-Anhilwāṛā, and then to northern India, but even then there was no peace for him and he had to leave to die at Faraḥ beyond the borders of India on 19-10-910/23-4-1505. After his death his followers were severely persecuted in Gujarat at the hands of Sulṭān Muẓaffar II (1511-1526) but they persisted in their faith and it is related that the last two Sulṭāns of Gujarat, Maḥmūd II (1554-61) and Muẓaffar III (1561-73) were Mahdawīs. As will be seen in the text, a large section of the nobles of Aḥmadnagar, headed by Ismā'īl Niẓām Shāh were converted to the faith, and in spite of the persecution at the hands of the Shī'ah section of the aristocracy, and later at the hands of Aurangzēb, they are still found in parts of Gujarāt, Sindh, Hyderabad Deccan and in far off Kirmān in Pakistan. For further information, in English, one the Mahdawīs see Hastings, *Ecyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vols., 6 & 8; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3; Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 227 ff.

Burhān Niẓām Shah; 911/1505—20-1-961/27-12-1553.

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write his famous chronicle named *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* named after the reigning Sulṭān of Bījāpur.[26]

It was about this time that Burhān came back to the Deccan from his jāgīr near Delhi to claim his patrimony against his son. In the decisive battle fought on 13-7-799/27-4-1591 Burhān was victorious and he now ascended the throne. The struggle was not so much of the father against his son as between the Shī'ah and the Mahdavīs, and the former had now the upper hand. Burhān immediately put an end to the Mahdavī heterodoxy and reenthroned Shī'ism as the religion of the Niẓāmshahi State.[27] But Burhan's reign also failed to put any order in the administration, and when he died on 18-8-1003/18-4-1598 he left the embers of discontent smouldering after him. On his death-bed he appointed his elder son Ibrāhīm (the same as had been disinherited on Mirān Ḥusain's death) to be his successor. To add fuel to the fire the new king proved to be a man without any vision, and the few months during which he was destined to rule were marked by further rifts in the body-politic of the State. He allowed a party at the Court to treat Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh's envoy Mīr Ṣafawī with disrespect, with the result that the weak Aḥmadnagar kingdom had to fight a loosing battle with the army of Bijapur at Naldrug where Ibrāhīm was killed by an arrow. This was on 8-12-1003/5-8-1594.

Ibrāhīm's death saw the widening of the rift which marked the different self-seeking groups in the ruling aristocracy of Ahmadnagar.[28] The candidature of Ibrāhīm's infant son, Bahadūr was sponsored by Murtaḍā's sister and 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh's widow Chānd Bībī who had returned to Aḥmadnagar ostensibly to condole the death of her brother but really because she felt she had no

26. *Fer.*, 147, 150.

27. *Ibid.*, 156. Burhān Niẓām Shāh II; 999/1591—8-8-1003/8-4-1595.

28. *Fer.*, Lucknow edition 1888, II, 156, says that Ibrāhīm reigned for 4 months and 2 days دو روز but this is evidently wrong, and "two days" should really be read as "ten days" (دہ روز). He therefore reigned 8-8-1003/8-4-1595—29-11-1003/31-7-1595.

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place in the highly intriguing atmosphere of Bijapur.[29] But she found Aḥmadnagar to be in a far more chaotic condition, for the Mughals were knocking at its gates, and this fact reacted on the policy of those who held the reins of government in their hands or who wanted to oust those who were in power. The ruling clique, which was headed by Miāṇ Manjū the *peshwa,* would not countenance the rule of the astute Chānd Bībī, and he now quietly imprisoned the infant Bahādur and proclaimed one Aḥmad, who was reputed to be the descendent of Burhan II, as king.[30] Then there was the section of the Ḥabashi party headed by Ikhlās Khān who proclaimed a person of unknown extraction named Mōtī as the Sulṭān, while another Ḥabashi noble named Āhang Khān crossed over to Bijapur and there found one Miran 'Ali, an old man of seventy, (who was then living at the 'Ādilshāhī court and who claimed to be the son of Burhān Nizam Shah I), brought him over to Bīṛ along with his twenty years old son, and proclaimed him king of Aḥmadnagar.[31]

29. Much romance has gathered round the name and personality of this valiant Queen. Meadowes Taylor's well-known historical romance, *The Noble Queen* was perhaps the first essay of its kind in English. Profuse extracts of the book have been given by Gribble in his *History of the Deccan,* Vol. I in his chapter entitled "The Story of Queen Chand and the fall of Ahmadnagar." Aḥmadu'l-lah Qadirī's book, the *Memoirs of Chand Bibi* and his Urdu book *Sawāniḥ Chānd Bībī* contain quite good references. One or two novels have also been written in Urdu with the Queen as the heroine. Without doubt she stands out as one of the greatest women that India has produced, and the impression she creates in the minds of those who read the events of her life is enhanced by the fact that her struggle was absolutely selfless.

30. Aḥmad's father Shāh Ṭāhir claimed to be the son of Prince Khudābandah one of the sons of Burhan I. But while Burhān II, who was his namesake's grandson, was at the court of Akbar he had given out that Khudābandah had died childless. Bahādur was only a year and nine months old at the time of Ibrāhīm's death, while Aḥmad was twelve years of age; see *Fer.*, II, 58 and *Bur.*, 554. Prof. Siddīqī is mistaken when he says on p. 65 of his *Muqaddamah Tārīkh Dakan* that Aḥmad was the son of Shāh Ṭāhir the famous divine who was instrumental in converting Burhān Niẓām Shāh I to the Shī'ah faith in the middle of the tenth century A.H., nearly fifty years before Ibrāhīm's death. I must confess I have made the same mistake in my paper on *Sulṭān-Qulī, the First Ruler of Medieval Tilangana,* Journal of Indian History, April 1956, n. 102.

31. *Bur.*, 605.

Bīr; hqrs. of a district, Mahārāshtra State; 18°59'N., 75°46'E.

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Thus Miāṇ Manjū was opposed not merely by the legitimist group led by Chānd Bībī but by all sections of the Ḥabashi party, which, though divided, would not see eye to eye with him. Knowing how critical the state of affairs was, Ikhlās Khān lost no time to have Mōtī Shah's *khuṭbah* read and coins struck.[32] Miāṇ Manjū was greatly overcome by these developments, and in his nervousness sent word to Prince Murād, who was then in Gujarat, to come and help him in ousting the usurper. The die had now been cast, and the road to the Deccan lay wide open for Akbar's forces.

Akbar had been waiting for the opportunity to interfere actively in the affairs of the Deccan for a long time.[33] It was as early as 988/1580 that "envoys from Quṭbu'l-mulk" had been received in audience by the Emperor and although "they extolled and flattered" him it was clear that the "marzbānān-i Dakan" were not prepared to accept orders from Agra.[34] Moreover the reports sent by Abu'l-Faiḍ Faiḍi were none too bright.[35] In 1000/1592

32. *Fer.*, II, 158.

33. Count von Noer says in his book *The Emperor Akbar*, II, 326: "Akbar hovered like an eagle on the northern horizon and watched the fighting cocks of the southern states, rending and wearing each other until his own time should come to prey on them". Whatever the real motives of the Imperialist expansion in the Deccan might be, Akbar's chronicler and confidant, Abu'l Faḍl says in his *Akbarnāmah* that "if they (the rulers of the Deccan) would not administer justice and cherish their people they were to be properly punished and the case of the inhabitants was to be entrusted to sympathetic persons"; *Beveridge's translation*, p. 701.

34. *Akbarnamah*, Lucknow, II, 162.

35. Faiḍī, *Tabāshiru's Subḥ*, MSS, Salar Jang Library, *Nath Fārsi*, 31, pp. 27-32. The book is variously called *Inshā-i Farsī* and *Laṭīfa-i Faiyāḍī*. It contains a series of reports sent by Abu'l-Faḍl's brother Faiḍī to Akbar when he was the Emperor's envoy in the Deccan. The whole burden of these reports is that, except for Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khandēsh, who had accepted the Imperial protectorate, and Burhan II of Aḥmadnagar who considered himself to have been "lifted up from the very dust by His Majesty" there was no Deccan potentate on whom reliance could be placed. To Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh he refers in very sneering terms as being "steeped in Shī'ism" and having as his mistress "an old prostitute named Bhāgmatī"! Of course all that he wrote about Muḥammad-Qulī was just hearsay, for he never stepped beyond Aḥmadnagar. For the Bhāgmatī story see Sherwani, *The Foundation of Ḥaidarābād*, J. Pak. Historical Society, VI, part 4, pp. 245 ff; also separate Urdu brochure, *Bhāgmatī kā afsānā*, Hyderabad, 1957, with appendices. The whole story has now been disgussed by Sherwani, *The Bhāgmati legend* in Journal of Indian History, April 1960. Parts of Faiḍī's reports have been

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Akbar appointed Prince Murād to the Governorship of Gujarat, and now that Miāṇ Manjū had applied to the Prince to interfere in the affairs of Aḥmadnagar there was no further reason for the mincing of words. Murād left Aḥmadābād on 20th Aban, 39 R.E./30-10-1594 stopping at Broach on the way, while 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān started from Bhilsa in Central India on 9th. Amardad/19-7-1595 and joined the Prince at Chāndor about fifty miles from Aḥmadnagar on 9th Azur, 40 R.E./ 29-11-1595. The united forces were joined by Raja 'Ali Khān of Khāndēsh.[36] Within Aḥmadnagar the turmoil was still continuing. After sending urgent summons to Prince Murād Mīan Manjū felt strong enough to give battle to his rival Ikhlās Khān

translated into English in *E. & D.*, VI, pp. 147-49 under the name of *Wāqi'āt*. Elliot and Dowson say in their introduction: "But for the great name of the writer the letters scarcely deserve notice....They are of a gossipping, familiar character ... All these letters were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut Pritchard, and it is to be regretted that they were not more worthy of the labours bestowed upon them." The missions sent to the Deccan potentates were all a failure from the Imperialist point of view, and as Dr. Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān says in his article on *The Deccan Policies and Campaigns of Mughals*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, 1944, pp. 301 ff., the reports from the envoys showed that "the Deccan kings had no inclination to offer unconditional allegiance to the Mughal Emperor."

36. *Akbarnāmah*, III, 476-77. The dates in this book are calculated according to the Regnal year of Akbar and the Persian months were super-imposed on the Faslī year by the Emperor which was introduced in 990 H. The Faslī year, which was called *Ilāhī* as It was supposed to be the result of Divine inspiration (*Akbarnāmah*, II, p. 8), was really the Solar Hijri year, but was not calculated according to the solar reckoning from the *hijrat* or Migration of the Prophet but from 990 H., with the result that an increasing error of more than ten years has persisted. The Fasil year was the official year in Hyderabad during the Asafjāhī period, and is still the official *revenue* year in the U.P. and Bengal. It may be of interest to know that the era which is current in Afghanistan and Iran at present is the correct hijri solar year calculated from the time of the actual *hijrat* of the Prophet. See the very illuminating brochure *Islāh san Faslī murawwajah by* Makhdūm Ḥusan, Hyderabad, 1330 Fasli. The dates given in the *Akbarnamah* have the Perso-Fasli months attached to the regnal year, and the corresponding Gregorian dates in this text have been copied from Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 1045-47. Certain discrepencies in the calculation have cropped up but they are not important as they do not extend to more than a day or two. I have generally following the dates in *Bur.* as the author was present within the citadel during the siege, and corresponding Gregorian dates have been computed according to Pillai's scholarly work, the *Indian Ephemeris*.

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near the 'Idgāh on 25-1-1004/20-9-1595. Ikhlās Khān was defeated and fled from the city while Miān Manjū took the pretender Shāh 'Alī prisoner. But when the joint army of the Mughals, twenty-five thousand strong, was seen to invest the city on 23-4-1004/16-12-1595 Miān Manjū realised his mistake and knew that it was not civil war which would decide the fate of the kingdom but the formidable army which the State had to face. He now knew the seriousness of the situation. Although he was no friend of Chānd Bībī he filled the fort with ample provisions and transferred the ultimate command of the kingdom to her.[37] Taking his protégé Aḥmad with him he left Aḥmadnagar for Aussa on the Bijapur frontier and there he appealed to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh for help against the common enemy. It was now that Chānd Bībī put her grand-nephew, the infant Bahadur, on the throne in order perhaps to gain sympathy of all sections of the population. The appeal to Golkonda and Bijapur was perhaps supported by Chānd Bībī herself as, although there was perpetual warfare raging in the Deccan there was a tradition that "if a foreign army entered their country they united their forces and fought, notwithstanding the dissensions and quarrels they had among themselves."[38]

37. *Fer.*, II, 159.

Broach; hqrs. of a district on the right bank of the Narbada, Mahārāshtra State; 21°42′N. 72°59′E.

Chandōr; headquarters of a taluqa, Nāsik district, Mahārāshtra State; 20°20′N., 74°15′E.

38. Faiḍī Sarhindī, *Akbarnāmah, E. & D.*, VI, 116. *Bur.*, 596, says that before Manjū left Aḥmadnagar he came to Chānd Bībī and begged her to accept his homage. *Von. Noer* p. 330, seems to think that it was fear on the part of "Bijāpūr and Ḥaidarābād" which impelled the rulers to send help to Aḥmadnagar. There was no question of any "fear" but rather the general desire to keep away the northern armies which had not been seen in the Deccan ever since the declaration of Deccan independence by Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ismā'īl in September, 1346; see *Bahmanis*, p. 30. This urged them to make a common cause against the Mughals. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb* 252, says that Chānd Bībī herself sent urgent messages to Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh for help. We must remember that Chānd Bībī was a princess of Aḥmadnagar being the daughter of Ḥusain I, a sister of Burhān II and an aunt of Ibrahīm the father of her *protégé* Bahādur. She was at the same time the widow of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and aunt of his successor and nephew Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II. Apart from that she was the direct descendent of Qarā Yūsuf through his son Jahān Shāh while Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was descended from Jahān Shāh's own brother Mirza Sikandar. Thus, in

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Retreat of the Mughals

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shah correctly gauged the situation and sent messengers to various claimants to the Nizāmshāhī throne and their protectors not to quarrel among themselves but to ward off the Mughal aggression and then decide who should ascend the throne. At the same time both Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and himself responded to the appeal of Chānd Bībī, but instead of sending their contingents to Aḥmadnagar they sent them to the strategic post of Naldrug which was situated on the border separating Tilangana and the Bijapur territory from the Niẓāmshāhī kingdom.[39] This move was no doubt designed to protect the flank of the two kingdoms against the possible advance of the Mughal troops as well to provide a reserve, but it could not give immediate succour to the defenders of Aḥmadnagar proper where the Mughal onslaught was imminent, as Naldrug happened to be more than a hundred miles from the beseiged capital. Tilangana and Bijapur were represented at Ahmadnagar by their envoys Ḥājī Muḥammad Isfahānī and Shamsuddin Muḥammad Lārī respectively, and it is interesting to note that the author of Burhān-i Maāthir, 'Ali b. 'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā, was also present there when the great siege was going on.[40]

The Mughal army appeared before the walls of Aḥmadnagar on 23-4-1004/16-12-1595.[41] Chānd Bībī, who was now in sole charge of the defence of the capital, appointed Muḥammad Khān as her *vakīl* or Prime Minister. It appears that the appeal of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh had the desired effect and we find the old Mirān Shāh

a way, she united in her the traditions of all the three dynasties which were then ruling in the Deccan.

Aussa; hqrs. of a taluq in Ormanabad district, Mahārāshtra State; 18°75′N., 77°30′E.

39. *Bur.*, 596, says that Manjū paid homage to Chānd Bībī, while his co-operation with her administration is evidenced by his making full provisions for the defence of the capital; see *Fer.*, II, 159. See also Von Noer, *The Emperor Akbar*, 327. The army sent by Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh under Mahdī 'Alī Sulṭān was five or six thousand, while that sent by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh consted of twenty thousand horse; see *Fer.*, II ,160. Khafi Khan. *Munt.*, 257, says that the total number of the allied horse reached 60 thousand while *Bur.*, 625, says that Bijapur sent 30 thousand horse and Tilangana 10 thousand.

40. *Fer.*, II, 159. The envoys, *Bur.*, 598.

41. *Bur.*, ibid.

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'Alī, who had been proclaimed king by Ahang Khan, coming into line with Chand Bībī and fighting against the Mughals. Although the armies from Golkonda were stationed at Naldrug the presence of the envoys at Aḥmadnagar must have had a heartening effect of the defenders. Evidently in order to check the progress of the Mughals Chānd Bībī had sent a *possé* of the troops to Bīr, but this was either defeated or outflanked by the Mughal army, for we find it take its stand on Kālā Chabūtrā in Aḥmadnagar. The first encounter between 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i-Khānān Muḥammad Khan took place on Tuesday, 24-4-1004/17-12-1595. In the beginning it seemed certain that the Mughal army would be defeated, but at the approach of the evening fresh troops were thrown in the fray under Prince Murād, and this turned the possible defeat into victory, and barring the citadel, the city of Aḥmadnagar fell into the hands of invaders.[42] Murād had given strict orders that the inhabitants of the city and their property should be spared, yet Shāhbāz Khān Kambōh, who was attached to Khān-i Khānān, looted the inhabitants the very next day and razed to the ground many public and private buildings including certain edifices sacred to the Shī'ah, thus making enemies of the population which both Khān-i Khānān and the Prince wished to reconcile. The Prince took Shahbāz Khān to task and punished him for his high-handedness, but the harm had been already.[43]

The situation was now this. While the Mughals were victorious everywhere against the scattered Niẓāmshahi forces the citadel was still in Chānd Bībī's possession, and a formidable force of the united contingents of Tilangana and Bijapur was stationed at

42. *Ibid.*, 603. Cp. *Fer.*, II, 159. *Bur.* gives 24-4-1004 as the day on which the battle began. There are certain other divergences between *Bur.* and *Fer.* but they are not of a very great importance. Thus *Fer.* says that Murād took part in the battle from the very beginning.

43. *Bur.*, 605. The destruction of certain *'āshūkhānās* at the hands of the invading forces must have incited the Shī'ah inhabitants of the capital who had so recently got the better of the Mahdawī clique. The long-drawn fight for Aḥmadnagar, which lasted more than a generation, may have been caused by the antipathy of the Shī'ah population towards the aggressors. It is expressly stated in *Akbarnāmah*, III, 476, that Shahbāz Khān belonged to the Khān Khānān group, and this explains the anger of Prince Murād at his depredations. On the other hand the unity of all political parties within the citadel was truly remarkable for we find Mian Manjū, Mōtī Shāh, Ahang Khān and others all striving to ward off the invaders.

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Naldrug. The question which had to be decided by the Mughal command was whether Naldrug was to be reduced first or an attempt made to capture the Aḥmadnagar fort. The generals and high dignitaries advised Prince Murād to reduce Aḥmadnagar immediately before help could reach the defending garrison.

We have the record of an interesting letter from Raja 'Alī Khān addressed to Chānd Bībī in which he appeals to her to lay down her arms. He says that it was mainly to save the Kingdom that he had accompanied the Mughal army. He warns the defenders that this army was so strong that it would reduce the fort almost without an effort, and instead of losing so many lives in the vain attempt to defend the citadel it would be advisable to submit to the Mughals and in return "to keep any fort and any province of the kingdom." When this letter reached the garrison it created great consternation among the defenders. But Chānd Bībī was not a person to be cowed down like this, and on her behalf Afḍal Khān wrote back to Rājā 'Ali Khān expressing great surprise at the tone of the letter and telling him that the Sulṭāns of the Deccan would never forget the way in which the Mughals had launched this attack on their country. He also told him bluntly that the time would soon come when the invading army would have to retrace their steps homewards.[44]

The defences of Aḥmadnagar were so strong that it was impossible to capture the fort except by mining the walls. It took three days to lay five mines under the battlements, and it was intended to fire them after Friday prayers on 1-7-1004/20-2-1596.[45] But the defenders proved to be more alert than the aggressors and had their spies in the enemy's camp. Khwājā Muḥammad Khān Shīrāzī, who was without doubt one of them, came to know of the plan, and "for purely humane and noble purposes" secretly informed the commander of the citadel the exact spots where the mines had been laid. Chānd Bībī immediately ordered that countermines should be burrowed in the ramparts, removed gun-

44. The complete letter as well as its reply would be found in *Bur.*, 613.

45. "Three months" is evidently wrong in the Lucknow edition of *Fer.*, I, 269. Again *Briggs*, III, 301, wrongly states that the first of Rajab was Tuesday; for it is expressly stated both in *Bur.*, 615 and *Fer.*, 160 that the day on which the mines were to be fired was Friday. It is also stated that the laying of the mines was completed on the evening previous to Friday.

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powder from two of the mines and filled them with stones and rubble. What she wanted was that all mines should be so treated but could not do so for want of time. She herself supervised the work and was actually seen digging the trenches. It was then that Prince Murād ordered the firing of the mines, and he must have been greatly surprised at finding that two of the mines were already "dead". Chānd Bībī "now put on her armour, and with a veil on her face and a naked sword in her hand, flew to defend the trenches." The high dignitaries of the capital as well as envoys from Ḥaidarābād and Bījāpūr all turned towards the breach which had been caused by the firing of three mines with all the forces they could command. So great was the enthusiasm that even those who had never handled a gun, like the 'Adilshāhī envoy, took charge of pieces of artillery and began to fire. Chānd Bībī is said to have brought poison to the firing line with a resolve that if the fortress fell she would commit suicide rather than be taken prisoner. Exchange of gun shot led to hand to hand fighting resulting in a terrible massacre on both sides, and this went on till nightfall. But even during the night there was no rest for Chānd Bībī or her men. She set upon to close the breach made by the three mines which had been successfully fired, and had a wall four or five yards high erected in the breach in the dead of the night. Guns, rockets and other ammunition were brought in place. The next day the fire of the defenders was so effective that they drove back successive storming parties of the aggressors who attempted to gain admittance into the citadel through the breaches which had been built over the previous night.[46]

Conditions of famine were staring in the face of both parties. While scarcity within the citadel needs no explanation, the Mughal camp was faring no better, for both the army stationed at Bīṛ and the allied forces at Naldrug were barring the way of all supplies from reaching the Mughals. Murād, hedged in on all sides now thought it best to make overtures to Chānd Bībī and sent a messenger to her to nominate a delegation with which he might enter

46. *Bur.*, 615-623, where "purely human and noble purpose" is mentioned. See also *Fer.*, II, 161. The quotation is from *Briggs*, III, 302. The height of the wall built by the defenders is mentioned as being three or four yards while *Fer.*, has two or three yards. I believe that *Burhān's* estimate is correct as, apart from the fact that its author was present at Aḥmadnagar during the siege, a wall of two or three yards would be purposeless.

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into pourparlers. It was on 10-7-1004/29-2-1596 that the delegation reached the Mughal camp and was formally presented to Prince Murād, who received it in a right royal manner and presented the richest robes of honour and Arab steed to its members. The actual conference began the next day and went on for a number of days, the treaty being signed on 26-7-1004/16-3-1596. The main condition of the treaty was the cession of Berar to the Mughals in return for which they agreed to withdraw from the rest of the kingdom. The condition of the cession of Berar was a hard one, and Chānd Bībī was at first averse to accept it. But Khān-i Khānān pointed out that Berar had been promised to the Emperor by Burhān while at the Imperial court when he regained the throne, and the time had arrived when that promise should be fulfilled. Moreover Chānd Bībī was advised that if she rejected these conditions it was quite possible that the Mughals might be persuaded to carry on the fighting to a finish. Anyhow the treaty was signed, and the Mughal army with Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān retraced their steps by way of Daulatābād leaving the bulk of the old Niẓāmshāhī kingdom intact.[47]

47. Burhān's promise; *Fer*, I, 269. The full details of this highly interesting Conference are given in *Bur.*, 627-632, and they throw full light on the international relations of those days. It might be noted that the word used there for delegation is حجاب while رسولان is used for for envoys.

We find that the proposal for a conference between the combatants first emanated from Prince Murād in a letter addressed to the garrison by Syed Murtaḍā of Berar who was in the Prince's retinue. To this a reply was received that it should be the Prince himself who should begin the negotiations. On receiving this reply the Mughals sent Mīr Hāshim Madanī who remained in the Fort for more than ten days. When he expressed a desire to return to his own camp he was granted rich and valuable presents for the Prince as well as to Khān-i Khānān and other high officers of the Mughal army. He was also accompanied by Afḍal Khān Qummī as the Aḥmadnagar envoy to the Mughal camp as well as by Muḥammad Zamān Khān Mushhadī and Shāh Bahrām Astarabādī. At the Peace Conference itself this delegation was faced by Khān-i Khānān Shahbāz Khan and Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān. The details of the Conference and the speeches of the members of the two delegations are given mainly in *Bur.*, pp. 628-630 and make a most interesting reading. How different is the attitude and conduct of Chānd Bībī to that of Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khāndēsh, for which see above and note 20.

The treaty is twisted by Abu'l-Faḍl in a very adroit manner thus: "The garrison .... represented that they would take Bahādur, Burhān's grandson, out of prison and give this child the title of Niẓāmu'l-mulk, and would make

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Looking back at the strange episode of the war-torn Aḥmadnagar defeating the mighty army of Akbar, we would find that this demonstrated a second time within thirty years how a strong enemy could be met successfully if the Deccan Sulṭānates were to create a will to unite. In 1565 it was the League of the Four Sulṭāns which gained the day; in 1595 it was a house divided against itself leagued with Tilangana and Bijapur, which had defeated a mighty enemy. Strategically also the Deccan had proved its superiority; for with forces of the allies massed at Naldrug and a possé of Aḥmadnagar troops in readiness at Bīṛ the Mughal army was hedged in on all sides. Although it must have been disappointing for the Aḥmadnagar garrison at first that the help sent by the allies should stop at Naldrug and not march straight on to Aḥmadnagar, the strategy of the allies proved to be efficacious in the long run. Then again, the high statesmanship of Chānd Bībī, her dynastic connections, and her great valour and interpredity as a soldier showed in vivid contrast to the cracks in the Mughal command caused by the continued rift between Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān.[48] The conduct of Muḥammad Khān Shīrāzī also demonstrated that all was not well with the average Mughal soldier. The imminent danger to the Niẓāmshāhī kingdom had been warded off by the cession of Berar, but it was still to be seen how long the internal unity of Ahmadnagar was to last and what lesson the Mughals would themselves take from their obvious defeat.

Fall of Ahmadnagar

The turn of the tide was soon to come, and this was preceded by the usual dissensions and turmoil at Aḥmadnagar. While Chānd

him a servant of the sublime court, that the territory of Aḥmadnagar should be made his fief, and that a thanks offering of the country of Berar would be made over to the victorious army"; Beveridge, *Akbarnamah*, III, p. 1048. How the same event can be so differently interpreted by the diplomats of the two sides!

48. For disagreement in the Mughal camp see *Akbarnamah*, III, 477, where a diary of the seige is recorded. See also Beveridge's translation, 1046-47; *Von Noer*, II, 331. The disagreement between the Prince and Khān-i Khānān seems to have started even before their meeting at Chandor. The difficulties in the way of the Mughals are stated in a nutshell in *Akbarnamah*: "Things became difficult on account of dissensions in the army, the closing of the roads and want of food." *Beveridge*, III, 1047.

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Sultana was resolved to see Bahādur placed firmly on the throne Miān Manjū would have no other ruler except Aḥmad. Now a strange thing happened which clearly pointed to the depths to which the kingdom had fallen. The rift between the factions became so wide and unbridgeable that the Queen actually invited her nephew Ibrāhīm of Bijapur to come and arbitrate between her and her antagonists. The idea of asking the king of a state which was the sworn enemy of Aḥmadnagar to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom would have been an anathema to the local politicians; but then Miān Manjū had set the ball rolling by inviting Prince Murād to invade it. The result of Ibrāhīm's arbitration was a foregone conclusion and Bahadur was confirmed on the throne. Not only that; the King of Bijapur actually sent his general Suhail Khān with a large expeditionary force and ordered him to remain at the Niẓāmshahi capital to support Chānd Bībī in case of emergency. But worse was still to come. Muḥammad Khān, the minister, chafed at this apparent success of the Queen, who was regarded as an intruder, and sent word to Khān-i Khānān, who was in Berar, offering to put the whole kingdom under the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor and inviting him to attack the citadel and place Aḥmad on the throne. The news, however, leaked out and Muḥammad was confined to the citadel. But it was too late, and when Khān-i Khānān began his fateful march the die had been cast once again.

Chānd Sulṭānā now sent urgent messages to Bijapur and Ḥaidarābād for help. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh sent Suhail Khān, who had returned to Bijapur, while Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh sent Mahdī Qulī Sulṭān with a large army to fight the common enemy. The allied armies now marched towards Berar to meet the Mughals in their own occupied territory and came face to face with them at Sonepat on the Godavari on 18-6-1005/27-1-1597. It was in this hard fought struggle that many Mughal generals such as Raja Jagannāth lost their lives while others like Raja 'Alī Khān of Khāndēsh, who had stood the Mughals through thick and thin, were wounded beyond recovery.[49] On the first day of the battle

49. This account is taken partly from *Fer.* II, 163-64 and partly from Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbarnamah, E. & D.*, VI, p. 95. The date 18-6-1005 corresponds with 16-1-1597 not with 26-1-1597 as in *Briggs*, III, 308. *Ma'āthir-i Raḥīmī, E. & D.*, VI, 221 says that "the Barīdshahi chief", meaning 'Ali Barid II, also

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the allies were successful to the extent that they actually penetrated the enemy lines, and the Niẓāmshāhī and the Quṭbshāhī contingents were so sanguine that they plundered the enemy camp as much as they could and retreated homewards.[50] The next day Suhail found himself alone facing the Maghal army. He was not able to follow up his success as Khān-i Khānān was able to drive him from the battlefield, and it was with some difficulty that he could make his way to Naldrug. There is no doubt that with the field clear of the defenders the Mughal army would not have much difficulty in marching right into Aḥmadnagar but counsels were divided in the Mughal camp between Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān who stood in the way of the immediate occupation of the capital as there were still many forts to deal with on the way. On hearing of this rift Akbar recalled Khān-i Khānān and appointed Abu'l Faḍl to the command of the army of the Deccan.

While all this was happening in the Mughal camp things were most uneasy at Aḥmadnagar and Ahang Khān the peshwa was trying to concentrate all power in his own hands to the exclusion of Chānd Sulṭānā and even to seize and imprison her. He had succeeded to the extent that he had actually reoccupied Bīr which had been in Mughal possession. The Emperor was greatly concerned with this set-back and was on the point of replacing Abu'l Faḍl when news arrived that Murād had breathed his last on May 2, 1599 and he now took the opportunity of sending Prince Dāniyāl as the Viceroy of the Deccan provinces along with Khān-i Khānān as the Commander. Dāniyāl now ordered the forward movement of his troops. There was a feeble opposition on the part of the Niẓāmshāhi troops, and on reaching the capital the

sent a contingent. According to Faiḍi Sirhindi, *Akbarnamah, E. & D.*, VI, 145, Raja Jagannāth was alive at the siege of Aḥmadnagar and actually "incited the soldiers to rush in" after the breach had been made in the wall. See note 21 above for the battle of Sonepat.

50. It is significant that even Ferishta, the chief protagonist of the "Bhāgnagar" story, says that the Qutbshahi troops made way to "Ḥaidarābād" after the first day of the battle of Sonepat, i.e., within five years of the foundation of the new capital. He thus counters his own theory propounded in II, 173; *Briggs*, III, 335. See Sherwani, *Bhagmatī kā Afsāna*, Ḥaidarabad, 1957; *ibid.*, *Foundation of Ḥaidarabad*, J. Pak. Hist. S., October, 1958, pp. 145-253; *The Bhagmatī Legend*, J.I.H., April, 1960.

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Mughals had immediate recourse to the mining operations. The amount of gunpowder thus expanded was enormous, one hundred and eighty maunds being exploded in a single day. Chand Sulṭānā felt herself friendless and helpless and thought that the best way to keep even a portion of the kingdom intact was to make peace with the invaders. But the party opposed to her would have none of it, and even her confidential secretary, the eunuch Ḥamīd Khān raised a hue and cry and said that the queen was proving to be a traitor to the cause of the independence of the kingdom. They therefore caught hold of her and put her to death. Once the fortifications were breached by firing the mines the Mughals entered the fort and carried Bahādur Niẓām Shāh and the whole of his family to Burhānpūr where Akbar was sitting following the events.[51]

The Advent of Malik 'Ambar

The fall of Aḥmadnagar had a very disturbing effect on the politics of the Deccan Sulṭānates. The attempt of Chānd Bībī to present a united front to the northern invaders, her own resourcefulness, her dynastic connections with both Bijapur and Ḥaidarābād, her personal charm and withal, her intrepid and unsurpassed courage—all this could neither save the capital nor her own life. From the point of view of the states of the Deccan there were just two silver linings in a very dark cloud: one was the change of policy of Khāndēsh after the death of Raja 'Ali Khān in 1697, and the other was the unscrupulous courage of a section of the nobles of Aḥmadnagar under the leadership of the manumitted negro slave, Malik 'Ambar who put Shāh 'Alī's son and Burhān I's grandson Murtaḍa on the shaky throne at Parenda in 1012/1603. Raja 'Ali

51. For Chānd Bībī, apart from the rather novelesque but highly interesting book, *The Noble Queen*, see Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, I, 211-241; S. A. Qadri, *Memoires of Chānd Bībī*, Ḥaidarabad, 1929. Faiḍī Sirhindi (*Akbarnamah, E. & D.*, VI, p. 132) says that the siege of Aḥmadnagar lasted 4 months and 4 days, and it was on 20 Shahrēwar 45 R.Y. of Akbar that the mines were exploded. Shahrēwar fell in August-September, and this is confirmed by *Fer.*, I, 271 which says that Aḥmadnagar was conquered in the beginning of 1009, which began in July, 1660. The siege must therefore have lasted from about May to August, 1600.

For the siege and the reduction of Ahmadnagar see *Briggs*, III, 309 ff. "Haidarabad", *ibid.*, 309; *E.& D.*, VI, wherein are contained extracts from *Ma'āthir-i Raḥīmī* and the two *Akbarnamahs* of Abu'l-Faḍl and Faiḍī Sirhindī.

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Khān's successor Bahādur Khān Fārūqī offered strong opposition to the Mughal penetration, and it was with a considerable effort that Akbar was able to reduce the fort of Asīrgarh and annex Khāndēsh to the Empire.[52] But the opposition of Malik 'Ambar was far more stubborn, and under him the Niẓāmshāhī state continued to oppose the mighty Mughal Empire for three decades.

The rise of Malik 'Ambar to the supreme place in the Niẓāmshāhī state was meteoric. Born in 955/1548 at Ḥarrār in Ethiopia of purely negro parents he demonstrated to the world in his lifetime that colour is no bar to adeptness in strategy and excellence in administration. He was thrice sold as a slave, first to the Qāḍiu'l-Quḍāt of Mecca, then to a dealer in slaves and finally to the Niẓāmshāhī *amīr* and statesman, Khwāja Mīrak entitled Changīz Khān. While it was the Qāḍī of Mecca who gave 'Ambar proper civil education and training as he would give to his own son, it was Changīz who made him a master in the art of war and strategy which was to be of such a good service to him in after life.[53] It is interesting to note that after Changiz's execution by the order of Murtaza I in 982/1574 'Ambar left Aḥmadnagar first for Golkonda and then to Bijapur, but as neither of these two capitals proved congenial to him he gyrated back to Aḥmadnagar in 1006/1597 after he had spent all that he possessed. It is said that he was able to find a big treasure trove and was thus able to get together a small army of 150 horse as a kind of personal guard. He was espied by Ahang Khān who took him in his service,

52. For the reduction of Asīrgarh and the conquest of Khāndēsh see *Fer.*, I, 271, II, 291.

It may be pointed out that in this section the early history of Malik 'Ambar, more or less up to the end of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's reign, has been treated rather cursorily, as the great statesman's place is essentially in the history of Aḥmadnagar and only secondarily in the history of the external policy of Tilangana. Like Chānd Sulṭāna this remarkable man also attempted to unite the Deccan Sulṭānates against the Mughals, and as such at least a section had to be devoted to him here.

53. For the early life of Malik 'Ambar see his *Biography* (in Urdu) by Shaikh Chānd, Hyderabad, 1350 H., ch. 1 & 2. This part of the narrative has been culled from Shillī Ḥaḍramī, *'Iqdu'l-Jawāhir wa'l-Durur* and Amīn Muḥibbi, *Khulasatu'l-athār fi Nūru'l-safar*. Also see *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk*, Asafiyah, Tarikh Farsi, fol. 114 (a), 172 (b)-175 (b), where his vast public works and administrative talents are also described. Also, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā, for a general account of the Malik's life and his work.

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and a short while after passed him on into the service of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. The first time we hear him taking part in an important engagement is when fought in the battle for Bīr resulting in its evacuation by the Mughal general Shēr Khwāja in 1007/1598.

After the death of Chānd Sulṭāna and the fall of Aḥmadnagar 'Ambar was already a prominent member of the Niẓāmshāhī administration and it was he who backed effectively the enthronement of Murtaḍa as the king of Aḥmadnagar and the removal of the capital to Pārenḍa. Internal dissensions due to personal motives were the order of the day, but there were at least two men in the Kingdom, Miyān Rāju Dakhnī and Malik 'Ambar who wanted to recover the lost territory from the Mughals and regain the pristine glory of the kingdom. It was mainly through their effort that the fall of Aḥmadnagar meant only the fall of a single city, for a very large part of the kingdom remained in the possession of one or other of the two commanders and the Mughal army of occupation was virtually hemmed in on all sides. The clash between the two forces was inevitable and it came on the banks of the Mānjira where Malik 'Ambar inflicted a severe defeat on the Mughals and captured the Mughal general 'Alī Mardān Khān.[54] In 1010/1601 Prince Dāniyāl sent a petition to his father the Emperor Akbar that 'Ambar had inflicted a defeat on the ruler of Bīdar who had tarried in the payment of "tribute" to him.[55] Dāniyāl could see no way out of the *impasse* in which he had been placed except to sow the seed of discord in the Niẓāmshahī camp. He sent an emissary to Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh egging him to try and free himself from the clutches of the Ḥabashi dictator, and there is also a suspicion that it was about this time that Mughals were successful in breaking Rājū Dakhnī away from Malik 'Ambar. One of the results of Mughal machinations was the defeat of Malik 'Ambar at Nāndēṛ in 1010/1601.[56] This victory had its repercussions on the policy of the Deccan Sulṭānates in much the same

54. *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, I, 774. *Parenda;* hqrs. of a taluqa, Osmanabad district, Mahārāshṭra State; 18°16′N., 75°27′E.

55. Shaikh Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 33; no reference, however, is given for this.

56. *Fer.*, II, 165. Details of Dāniyāl's marriage, *Basāṭīn*, 256, 257. 'Ināyatullāh, *Takmila Akbarnāmah. E. & D.*, VI, 105. *Nandēṛ;* hqrs. of a district, Mahārāshtra State; 19°9′N., 77°20′E.

Burhānpūr; hqrs. of a tehsil, Nīmār district, Madhya Pradesh; 21°18′N 76°14′E.

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way as the fall of Aḥmadnagar had reacted on it. For instance, in Muharram 1013/June 1604 Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh was made to marry his daughter Sulṭān Jahān to the debauchee Dāniyāl who died within a year of his marriage in Zil-Hijjah 1013/April 1605 leaving the young girl a widow. In spite of the defeat of Malik 'Ambar the Mughal commander 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān showed great cordiality to the leader, and the two met each other in fond embrace both suspecting that the other would strike at his power at the first opportunity.

On the other side Niẓāmshāhī commanders like Patang Rāi, Farhād Khān, Malik Ṣandal and others urged Murtaḍa to shake himself off from 'Ambar's yoke and persuaded him to rise against the Malik. 'Ambar, who controlled the resources of practically the whole state, defeated Murtaḍā towards the end of Rabi' II, 1012/August 1603 and virtually imprisoned him in Parenḍa fort.[57] Murtaḍā surreptitiously complained to Rājū regarding the treatment meted out to him. Khān-i Khānan now began to play a double game, and actually sent two or three thousand horse to 'Ambar to strike Rājū, and with this substantial help 'Ambar drove Rājū back day after day till he took sanctuary within the walls of the Daulatābād Fort. Malik 'Ambar's star seemed to continue in the ascendent. In 1013/1604 Akbar's favourite son Salīm revolted against his father. Akbar was already struck by Murād's death in 1599 and Dāniyāl's death in 1604; and now Salim's revolt now virtually broke the back of the proverbial camel; and the great Emperor died on 13th Jamadī II, 1014/17th October, 1605. Things did not prove to be happy even after Salīm's accession to the throne as the Emperor Nuru'd-dīn Jahāngīr, for he had to contend the claim of his step brother Khusrau. In the meantime Malik 'Ambar had penetrated the Mughal territory as far as Malkāpur which is just thirty miles from the capital of Khāndēsh. He also captured Rājū in a decisive battle and annexed the whole territory over which he ruled. He now carried Murtaḍa to Junair (or Junnar),

57. *Fer.*, II 165 It is not true that after putting Murtaḍa "in confinement" Malik 'Ambar "declared his independence" as *Gribble* I, 250, would have it. All that Ferishta says is that "as Murtaḍā was constantly intriguing and raising factions against him, he thought it advisable to depose him" but was prevented from doing so by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh whom he seems to have consulted: *Briggs*, III, 319.

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which had been the virtual cradle of the Niẓāmshāhi state, and made it once more the capital.[58]

Jahāngīr wanted to send an expedition to the Deccan immediately on his accession; but certain occurrences within the State, such as Khusrau's revolt and restiveness in the other parts of the Empire, kept him fully occupied for some time. Moreover a clique was forming against Khān-i Khānān who was accused of being in league with that "evil one, the black-faced and discredited being", 'Ambar. There is hardly any epithet of calumny which the Emperor fails to use for 'Ambar, and the suspicion that Khān-i Khānān was in any way at one with him touched Jahāngīr to the quick. In the meantime Malik 'Ambar occupied Antūr which had been a Mughal possession for some years, and had it not been for the persuation of his mother as well as the grandees of the Empire Jahāngīr would have proceeded to the south himself.[59] Instead of that, in 1018/1609 he sent his son Prince Parvīz as his deputy along with Raja Mānsingh and Aṣaf Khān to Burhānpūr and Aḥmadnagar with twenty thousand horse and ten elephants. This naturally made Malik 'Ambar feel a certain amount of insecurity and he sent urgent messages to Ḥaidarābād and Bijāpūr for immediate help and warned Ismā'īl 'Adil Shāh and Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh that if he had to bow before the Mughals they would also be swept away and their dynasties eliminated altogether.[60]

There was an immediate response on the part of these two Sulṭāns. Ibrāhīm put the strong fort of Qandhār at the disposal of Malik 'Ambar apart from a large force consisting of ten thousand horse; while on his part Muḥammad-Qulī sent his full quota of sixteen lakh of hons which were demanded by the Malik.[60]

58. *Fer.*, II, 166.

Junair or *Junnār*, hqrs. of a taluqa in Poona district Mahārāshtra State; 19°12′N., 73°53′E; its fort, now called Shivneri, was built by Maliku't-Tujjār in the reign of Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad I in 1436 and is the reputed birth-place of Shivaji.

Malkāpūr; hqrs. of a taluqa in the Buldānā district, Mahārāshtra State, on Nalganga; 20°53′N., 76°44′E.

59. Epithets used by Jahangir, e.g. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, pp. 220 etc.

Antr; in the Aurangabād district, Mahārāshtra State; 20°27′N., 75°15′E.

60. Mu'tamad Khan, *Iqbālnamah Jahāngīri*, Calcutta, 1865, pp. 36, 38; *Basātīn* 263-265.

Qandhār; hqrs. of a taluqa in the Nander district, Mahārāshtra State; 18°53′N., 77°12′E.

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Malik 'Ambar had guaged the situation in its proper perspective. Immediately on his arrival in the Deccan Parvēz ordered his army to march into Malik 'Ambar's territory, while Malik 'Ambar himself marched towards the Mughal border along with the allied army. He was again feeling some diffidence and sent messages to Bijāpūr and Ḥaidarābād for further help, which was given. He was perhaps the first to perceive the fighting value of light Maratha cavalry and mobilised ten thousand Maratha horse to swell his army for the supreme trial. This light cavalry proved to be great use, and with its help he adopted the scorched earth policy and destroyed everything within a circumference of about sixteen miles right round the Mughal headquarters. Khān-i Khānān sensed the seriousness of the situation and advised the Prince not to be lured into the Aḥmadnagar territory, but the Prince was unscrupulous and marched right into 'Adilābād near Burhanpur which lay in Malik 'Ambar's country. There his forces were incessantly harassed by the Maratha levees, and he had to bow before the superior strategy and flee to Burhānpur with a safe conduct given by his enemy.[61] Immediately after this, in 1019/1610 'Ambar fell upon the fort of Aḥmadnagar, which was the solitory stronghold of the Niẓāmshahi kingdom still remaining in the Mughal hands, and captured it after ten years of Mughal domination.[62]

It was a short time after this that Muḥammad-Qulī died and was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.

61. *Basaṭīn*, 266-68; *Iqbalnamah*, 38-39. *'Adilābād.*
62. *Basaṭīn*, 269-70; Khafī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l—Lubab*, I, 261-62.

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Reviews

MODERN NEPAL: (Rise and growth in the 18th Century). D. R. Regmi Firma, K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1961. Pages xiv and 333. Price in India Rs. 15.

This volume, the third in the series 'History of Nepal; deals with the period between 1750-1800 and covers in detail all important events of the most glorious chapters of the history of Nepal', as the author explains in the Preface. The period is much better documented than the earlier ones which had only inscriptions and other fragmentary data with too many gaps that could not be filled. For this period the chronicles make a more continuous narrative possible, and there are other valuable sources like Sanads, royal and official charters, letters and memorials, and notes prepared by foreign visitors. The contemporary British Indian records also constitute a valuable help, particularly for the chapter of Nepal's relation with her neighbours. The account of Sino-Nepalese war draws also on materials from China. Prithvinarayan Shah (1742-74) is the maker of modern Nepal and is in fact the hero of the book and his career takes up nearly half the book. The author calls him a 'nationalist to the care of his heart' (100). His successors kept up the policy of expansion and resisted the intrigues of the British with the deposed rulers who became refugees under their protection and British attempts to infiltrate into Nepal were foiled for quite a long time. The last chapter (IX) of the book attempts a detailed account of Administration, Polity and Economic condition at the end of the eighteenth century.

While the book is valuable so far as it goes, particularly for the amount of recondite material it brings together for easy reference in one place, it must be said that it is very far from a finished history. Some one with a greater measure of experience and competance in historical writing, should, after this series come to a close, work up the material it brings out in the form of a finished narrative. Meantime scholars interested in Nepal affairs will be grateful to the author and publisher for what they have done. A good map is, however, a desideratum.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

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ANGLO-MARATHA RELATIONS 1772-1785 Sailendra Nath Sen, M.A., D.Phil. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1961, Pages xii and 288, Rs. 15.

This is a detailed study of the administration of Warren Hastings so far as it relates to British relations with the Marathas in India. All available sources in English, Marathi and Persian, including the private papers of Warren Hastings and Philip Francis have been utilized, and the result is a narrative full of piquant detail and intimate estimates of the leading actors. The outlines of the main story do not vary much from what has been established by many previous writers on this well studied period. Dr. Sen, however, lays particular emphasis on the ambitious intrigues started by the English for territorial aggrandizement and the attempts of the Marathas to resist their impact on their polity. The difficulties made for Warren Hastings by the provisions of the Regulating Act and his adroit, and generally successful attempts to get over them, are set forth fully. His efforts to restore the credit of the English arms badly impaired by their defeat at the hands of the Marathas and his diplomatic genius which upheld the company's position in a serious crisis in its affairs in India are stressed. Dr. Sen also shows that military success on a restricted scale did not satisfy the ambitious and far-sighted Warren Hastings who sought to create new diplomatic situations which might provide the basis for the further advancement of the British position in India. He secured the alliance of the Rana of Gohad, anticipated the defaction of Rajaput chiefs from enforced submission to the Marathas, and pulled out the Bhoslas of Nagpur from the anti-British confederacy. The Maratha character stands fully revealed in all its weakness and strength. There is a good bibliography and index and the notes furnish detailed documentation. A map is a desideratum in this well produced book.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

AFRICA AND THE VICTORIANS: By Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher with Allice Denny. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

This book is the product of the fellowship dissertations of two scholars, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, revised by their subsequent discussions. Ronald Robinson is a Fellow of St. John's

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College and a Lecturer in the Expansion of Europe in the University of Cambridge. He has spent considerable time in Rhodesia and South Africa. John Gallagher is a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and a Lecturer in History. He was a Rockefeller Fellow in 1957-8, working in French Equatorial Africa. The authors are therefore qualified to handle the subject taken up by them.

Generally the latter part of the 19th century is described as the great age of European Imperialism. This book discusses the nature of British expansion in Africa and attempts to show that with reference to Africa at any rate, it was not the imperialistic aim that was responsible for the actual policy pursued. On the other hand, 'dominion in fact was acquired with no such intentions, sometimes unwanted by default or miscalculation, often to guard against some far-fetched strategic risk conjured up in statesmen's minds.'

The motives and policies of Gladstone, Salisbury, Rosebury and Chamberlain, their advisers and opponents are subjected to a revised and systematic analysis on the basis of new material from official archives and private papers with the result that the calculations and illusions that drew Britain into Africa become clear. However it is not possible to agree with all the conclusions drawn by the authors. Sir John Seeley's famous statement that the British acquired an empire in a state of half-awakedness is at best only a half truth. In Africa too, though to a lesser extent than elsewhere, it is difficult to separate the complex motive force which operated in the development of British Policy.

No doubt, the commercial aim was a dominant factor in the early and mid-Victorian times. Practically from the beginning of the 19th century onward the British were developing the rule of free trade. Nearly all Victorians stood firmly for free trade and held that protective tariffs and imperial preference would amount to commercial suicide. British leaders strongly preferred influence to political possession as a means to national prosperity and world power.

The authors recognise that India was an exception to this exclusive attention to trade. "Plainly, India was not a country where commerce could dispense with dominion", (p. 10). Victorians felt that even for purposes of trade the continuance of the British Empire in Indian was necessary.

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In Africa, though at first the mission to extirpate slavery and the opening of commercial links dominated the British aims a sudden revolution occurred in 1882. Against all percept and prejudice, against the experience and trends of previous expansion, the British occupied Egypt and staked out a huge tropical African Empire. "Why, after centuries of neglect, the British and other European governments should have scrambled to appropriate nine-tenths of the African continent within 16 years, is an old problem still awaiting an answer'.

In their attempt to explore the causes for this revolution the authors of the book are obliged to admit that 'perhaps the late-Victorians were more enthusiastic imperialists than their fathers'. They add that a more important factor was the collapse of African governments under the strain of previous Western influences. This, however, is not convincing. Another possible cause, according to them was that Africa's relationship to the British strategy in Europe, the Mediterranean and the East had altered. Obviously this is a real recognition of the imperialist motive. It is clearly illustrated by the Suez Canal crisis of 1882, which is ably discussed in one of the longest and best written chapters of the book.

Though one may not agree with all the deductions drawn, there is little doubt that the book makes people think and rethink about the policies adopted by the British in Africa during the Victorian age. It contains four useful maps and a well-prepared Index. The book has been excellently produced.

K. K. PILLAY

KOIL OLUGU: Edited and Translated by Dr. V. N. Hari Rao: Published by Rochouse & Sons, Madras-1.

The traditional accounts of temples are in their own way useful for the reconstruction of the history of the temples and incidentally of the history of the locality in which they are situated. It is true that frequently incredible legends, repetitions and mistakes mar the value of these accounts. But it would be improper to dismiss them as being entirely useless for the historian. Like inscriptions, the traditional accounts vary in their historical value; they have to be examined critically and the historical elements sifted.

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Dr. V. N. Hari Rao has done a piece of valuable service by publishing an English translation of the Kōil Oḷugu, the account of the celebrated Śrīraṅgam temple. This translation formed a part of his thesis entitled 'A History of Trichinopoly and Śrīraṅgam' for which the Ph.D. Degree of the Madras University was awarded to him. He has provided useful and critical notes to the text.

There was difficulty in securing the authentic version of the Kōil Oḷugu. The old Tamil edition of the Kōil Oḷugu printed in 1909 was incomplete and defective in several respects. Both in respect of the text and sequence of events narrated, that edition differed from the version found in the cadjan (Palm-leaf) manuscript of the Kōil Oḷugu in the Śrīraṅgam temple library and the discrepancies had to be resolved. The cadjan account itself was not complete; the last few leaves were missing. Fortunately Dr. Hari Rao was able to secure a paper manuscript of the Oḷugu and thereby fill up the void.

It is not easy to determine when the original Oḷugu was begun to be written. From the circumstance that Rāmānuja and his activities receive a strikingly elaborate treatment in the Oḷugu, it is not improbable according to the present editor that the writing of the account commenced after his time. This is perhaps true; but more reliable evidence is needed to prove it.

The Kōil Oḷugu contains several anachronisms; for example, the accounts pertaining to the Āchāryas are given after that of the (first) Muslim attack on Śrīraṅgam. Besides, there are several repetitions. Some names and events are repeated in different contexts; obviously this occurs because certain events were recorded in the diary without making sure whether they had been recorded earlier. There are also palpable evidences of interpolations in the account.

In spite of these serious limitations the Kōil Oḷugu constitutes a valuable work containing original information regarding the history of the Śrīraṅgam temple and in general regarding the history of South Indian dynasties and the Vaishnava Āḷvārs. The benefactions provided by numerous kings and chiefs and the changes effected in the administration of the temple from time to time find a place in the Oḷugu. The reforms introduced by Rāmā-

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nuja are described at great length. The account comes down to the date when the British assumed control over Śrīraṇgam and Trichinopoly. Therefore the benefactions of the Vijayanagar and Nāyak rulers and chieftains are described. It is remarkable that in respect of the Vijayanagar and subsequent periods the account provides a fairly correct sequence of the events.

The editing of old manuscripts is by no means easy. The language of the Kōil Oḷugu is of the *manipravala* style. Besides, there is a large admixture of the jargon of the Vaishnava temple which makes certain portions of the Oḷugu unintelligible. The construction of sentences is at times faulty; and punctuations are not provided at the appropriate places. The translation of such a text is therefore a difficult piece of work and Dr. V. N. Hari Rao deserves to be congratulated on having accomplished the task with commendable success.

K. K. PILLAY

BAJI RAO THE FIRST THE GREAT PESHWA by C. K. Srinivasan, Asia Publishing House.

This small book of about 140 pages traces the career and achievements of Baji Rao the first, the outstanding general and statesman of the 18th century. The great accomplishment of Baji Rao was the transformation of a national state into an empire. Curbing the disruptive elements in the state, he first consolidated the king's power in the Maratha country, and thereafter he raised the power of the Maratha state step by step, defeating the Nizam, and then occupying in succession Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand and eventually carrying the Maratha flag to the outskirts of Delhi itself. His dream of founding a *Hindu Pad Padshai* was almost about to be achieved. It is not an exaggeration to describe Baji Rao as the second founder of the Maratha empire. He had 'the head to plan and the hand to execute'.

The author himself states: "The story of the rise of this romantic Peshwa and his achievements have been dealt with in great detail by several scholars. While I have liberally drawn on the researches made on this subject by the eminent historians like Grant Duff, Jadunath Sarkar, Kincaid, Rajwade, Potdar, Parasnis, Sardesai, Surendranath Sen, Dr. Dighe and others, I have tried to

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emphasise the historic role of Baji Rao I as the protector of king Shahu's title to the throne, as the military genius who was responsible for the establishment of Maratha Power in the Deccan, in Malwa, in Gujarat, in Central India and beyond, as the redeemer of the Konkan from the Sidis of Janjira, and as the liberator of the island of Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese'.

Though the author has precious little to add to what we know of Baji Rao I, what he says, he says with force and grace. He commands a racy style and in particular his account of Baji Rao's relation with Mastani, the alluring daughter of Rajah Chhatrasal of Bundelkhand, is fascinating.

A map of India illustrating the movement and campaigns of Baji Rao I is a desideratum.

K. K. PILLAY

A HISTORY OF DVAITA SCHOOL OF VEDANTA AND ITS LITERATURE, Vol. I, by Dr. B. N. K. Sharma, (Booksellers' Publishing Co., Mehendale Bldg., V. P. Road, Bombay-4), Bombay, 1960, pp. xv 372, Price: Rs. 17-50.

This book, covering the period from the earliest beginnings to C. 1400 A.D., is divided into three parts, the first part being devoted to "Evolution of Dvaita Thought", the second to "The Creative Period of Madhva and His Immediate Disciples", and the third to "Standardization of Dvaita Thought under Jayatirtha". In the first part the evolution of the Dvaita thought is traced from the early beginning of the Vedic period to the time of Ramanuja, pointing out how a new religion was needed at the time. The second part covers the life and works of Madhva along the life and works of his immediate disciples, and also the emergence of the Aṣṭamathas of Udipi and other Mutts. In the third part is discussed how Jayatirtha, the master logician, gave a definitive form to the work of Madhva, which though brilliant was yet unsystematic and not free from lacunae, perfected it, and standardized it into a well-defined system of philosophy, brilliant in its logic and impressive in its argument. The entire work is planned in two volumes, of which the present book forms the first volume, the second volume being the book to be devoted to dealing "equally exhaustively with

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the development of the system in the post-Jayatirtha period down to recent times." The present book has an eleven-page Index and two Appendices, one listing the works, other than the well-known Vedic, Upanishadic, Epic, and Puranic texts, which also have been plentifully cited by Madhva, and the other consisting of the Śrikurmam Inscription of Narahari Tirtha.

The present book, being a revised and enlarged version of a part of the author's thesis approved for the Ph.D. degree of the Madras University in 1948, is, according to the author, the first complete and systematic work on the history of the Dvaita School of Vedanta to appear in print, there being no other standard on this subject of this size and scope in the field. The present work, according to the author, representing the fruit of the author's many years' labour of love, is a work, which primarily deals with the history of the Madhva School of Vedanta and its entire literature and only indirectly with the philosophy of the school as contained in the literature surveyed in this history. The author wanted to keep himself confined strictly to the history of the School and hence is not happy over the fact that he was compelled to bring in some philosophy of the School and also its theology in this work, which was meant to be a work purely on the history, by the predominantly philosophical nature of the contents of the literature surveyed in this history. Though the author is not in favour of bringing in philosophy in a work on history, he is yet in favour of keeping philosophy for a separate and comprehensive treatment and accordingly he has promised to bring out very soon such a separate comprehensive book on the philosophy of Madhva as a whole. The author claims that no efforts have been spared to make the work interesting and exhaustive, and that he has tried his best to keep close to the standards of modern historical scholarship and research.

To point out the need of a work of this type, that the author has attempted for the first time, in view of the existing literature on the Madhva School of Vedanta he writes:—"Dvaita literature is very exhaustive. Much of it still remains unpublished and unexplored. The early generations of Orientalists have neglected Madhva's philosophy. Later, pioneers like Subbarao and Padmanabhachar translated some works Madhva into English and expounded some of his tenets. This roused interest among Western scholars as well and at least one foreign scholar, Helmuth Glasenapp,

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was attracted to Madhva's philosophy and wrote his "Madhvas Philosophie des Viṣṇu-Glaubens" in German (Leipzig, 1923). But the first philosophical account of Madhva's thought, to appear in English, was in Dr. Radhakrisnan's Indian Pilosophy (1927). Then followed further expositions of different aspects of Madhva thought, by some of his own followers like C. R. Krishna Rao, R. Nagaraja Sarma, H. N. Raghavendrachar, Alur Venkatarao, P. Nagaraja Rao and myself during the last three decades. The latest account of the system of Madhva and of his great interpreters Jayatīrtha and Vyāsatīrtha is to be found in Das Gupta's History of Indian philosophy, Vol. IV. He has dealt with their treatment of some important problems in philosophy and has given a general review of some important topics of Madhva's interpretation of the Brahma-Sutras. Apart from the fact that even this work does not give us a systematic and coordinated exposition of Madhva's philosophy as a whole or go into the significance and bearings of his philosophical doctrines their interpretation, its account of the Dvaita literature, as such, is very inadequate ill-arranged and contains many misstatements of facts. There is thus a real need for a complete and systematic exposition of the history of the Dvaita school and its literature.

Considering the position and achievement of Dvaita thought in Indian philosophy and its literary output, it seemed to me to be a great deficiency that there was no authentic history of its literary and philosophical development, in English or in any other language, on modern lines—in a proper chronological setting and based upon all available materials, literary, historical and epigraphical. The works already in the field, on Madhva, have either not dealt with the extensive literature of his school including his own works in its fulness; or else, only cursorily, with a few works chosen at random. Even the survey of the Dvaita literature in Glasenapp's pioneering work is more or less bibliographical in its nature and by no means full or systematic at it. He has not gone into the contents of the works or lives and dates of the authors mentioned or presented the literary materials on any orderly plan of topics or division of periods, There is no historical survey of the evolution of thought. A systematic and comprehensive work covering the entire range of this school of thought and its voluminous literature has long been a desideratum. The present work is intended to meet this need "(p.v.)."

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The author has brought to bear his profound Sanskrit learning on this book, the contents whereof have gained thereby in its scholarly value. A vast of wealth of details is brought together in this book, which, being the first book of its kind in the field, is a very valued and welcome addition to the scanty literature in English on this school of philosophy.

If the valued Sanskrit quotations, profusely interstrewn in the body of the book, would have been relegated to the footnotes meant for the attention of those who are serious to check the point or pursue it further, it would have made the main English reading matter continuous and would have added to the interest of the valuable main English contents of the book as a smooth reading. Despite the wealth of the details the historical spirit and perspective should have been shown more than what has been in marshalling the details in an orderly historical treatment. The author seems to be unaware of the difficulty in his position to keep himself confined to the history alone of the school to the total exclusion of the philosophy and also the theology. If philosophy and theology are left out from the history of the school, what remains worth noting in the history of the school? As the history here is mainly the history of philosophy and religion of the school, there is very little hope for success in writing only the history of the school without its philosophy and theology. In covering such an extensive field the author has had occasions to cross swords with several scholars touching his field and to express opinions on several controversial points. Though it may not be always possible to agree with him, yet his spirited defence of his point and his strong arguments for his opinion are sufficiently revealing as to his profound scholarship and unique competence in the field. Being a staunch follower of the school by faith his work is bound to be strongly apologetic as the devoted can rarely afford to be discerning. Hence it would be unfair to him if one should expect him to be impartially critical on some controversial points where it is a question of defending or opposing Madhva. Such partisanship has often been in the history of the academic scholarship ruinous to the academic worth of several works of the profound scholarship turned out in the past. This author too seems to have hardly taken any care to save his valued work from the same ruinous fate.

The author's praise of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, when compared to his attack on Dr. H. Von Glasenapp and, others, in this book,

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strikes rather strange. If at all a hit for neglecting Madhva's philosophy is necessary, Dr. Radhakrishnan too can hardly escape, and Dr. R. Nagaraja Sarma is not totally unjustified in giving that hit, though, of course, the hit is very hard and almost to a fault. It is surprising how this erudite author, who otherwise has been extremely critical of other writers in the field, has been uncritical regarding the scanty treatment given to Madhva by Dr. Radhakrishnan, when compared to his treatment given to Sankara and Ramanuja, in his otherwise voluminous "Indian Philosophy".

It may also be added that the two-page list of errata in the book shows the need that the printing should have been more careful.

Lastly, it may also be noted here that the author's suggestion for re-designating the Dvaita philosophy of Madhva as some variety of monism or Advaita (pp. 6-8)—i.e. the "Svatantrādvaita"—is an admirable suggestion, as such a designation is more justified on the ground of the strict interpretation of the standpoint of Madhva's philosophy and from the point of view of an accurate understanding of the nature of the ultimate reality in the philosophy of Madhva. Besides, it should also be remembered here that the present designation of Madhva's philosophy as a Dualistic System has been responsible for its being neglected by the Westerners because of some long-standing prejudices associated in the minds of the Westerners with the dualistic philosophies in the Western philosophical tradition. A similar re-thinking may perhaps also be desirable on the point of the other present designation of Madhva's philosophy as a 'Realistic" system in order to determine the exact element of "Realism" and that of "Idealism" in the Western sense in Madhva's philosophy and to think of an accurate description of the system in the Western terminology so that the usual prejudices about "Realism" in the Western philosophical tradition may not also come in the way the Westerners in properly grasping the accurate nature of the system.

The book, on the whole, is an admirable and valued production in the field, revealing the author's unique competence, profound scholarship, and deep devotion, and justifying one to wait impatiently for the appearance of the following volume that is promised here in this book under review.

R. B. JOSHI.

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